

JPRS 77080

30 December 1980

# East Europe Report

POLITICAL, SOCIOLOGICAL AND MILITARY AFFAIRS

No. 1837



FOREIGN BROADCAST INFORMATION SERVICE

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REGULATION PRESCRIBES ORDER FOR IDENTITY CARDS CHANGE

Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO in Bulgarian 21 Nov 80 p 3

[Unattributed article: "Forthcoming Change in Identity Cards for Bulgarian Citizens; Announcement of the Council for Territorial and Conurbation Management Under the Council of Ministers and the Ministry of Internal Affairs"]

[Text] On the basis of Order No 56 of the Council of Ministers of 1978, from 1 January 1981 to 31 December 1985, there will be an exchange of identity cards [personal passports] of Bulgarian citizens.

The submitting of the documents for the exchange and the issuing of the new card will be carried out at the obshtina (rayon) people's councils and at the city halls according to the residence of the citizens.

For this purpose it is essential for the citizens to personally submit the following documents:

1. Identity card.
2. Birth document.
3. Birth certificate for children under 16.

Photographs for the card and a tax stamp for 2 leva must be appended to the designated documents.

The exchange of identity cards is to be carried out by the years and months of birth of the citizens, as follows:

For persons born from 1958 to 1964, in 1981;

For persons born from 1949 to 1957, in 1982;

For persons born from 1940 to 1948, in 1983;

For persons born from 1930 to 1939, in 1984;

For persons born before 1930, in 1985.



For example, persons born in January 1958, 1959, 1960, 1961, 1962, 1963 and 1964 must submit their documents for the exchange of the identity cards in January 1981.

In instances when citizens are the residents of one population point but live in another, they can exchange their identity cards for the new type during the entire year assigned by the schedule for exchange, without observing the requirement of carrying this out in the appropriate month of birth.

Exceptions to the established schedule of exchange can be made when the valid date of the identity cards has lapsed or will lapse during this period, or when they have become torn or dirty, or under other particularly important circumstances.

In addition, the exchange of the identity cards can be organized by population points, residential districts, microrayons, Fatherland Front organizations, and so forth, regardless of the designated schedule, after first notifying the authorized services in the appropriate obshtina (rayon) people's council or city hall.

Citizens can obtain information on all questions relating to the exchange of identity cards at the obshtina (rayon) people's councils and the city halls.

Yesterday a meeting was held at the Union of Bulgarian Journalists on the question of the forthcoming exchange of identity cards by the citizens. Speaking were the secretary of the Council for Territorial and Conurbation Management Under the Council of Ministers, Kostadin Karamitrev, and the Director of the People's Police, Maj Gen Kostadin Iliev.

It was stressed that the identity card system is to be developed and improved in accord with the changes which are occurring in the socialist society and state. Major changes have occurred in our country since the introduction of the previous 1965-model card. A number of new laws have been passed, including the new Bulgarian Constitution. We have begun creating a Unified System for Civil Registration and Administrative Services of the Population (ESGRAON). All of this has necessitated the exchange of the identity cards of Bulgarian citizens for new ones.

The new identity card has a more attractive appearance and significantly surpasses the old one in durability and strength.

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BULGARIA

PRODUCTION OF HOME-MADE LIQUORS CONDEMNED

Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 13 Nov 80 p 2

[Article by Syuleyman Gavazov: "The Still Season"]

[Text] Three years ago I had the imprudence (below it will be come clear why I use the term imprudence) to write about the contribution of liquor stills to the consumption of alcohol. The reaction of certain readers was so acute and unusual that I still shudder from it. In their letters (anonymous of course) they left me no quarter. My phone rang the whole week long and even in the small hours of the night.

What had happened?

Involuntarily I had stepped on the toes of certain people, and they are certainly not few in number, who without any control produce home-made liquor from various fruits, with sugar used as the basic additive. A valuable food is wasted as here it is turned into a poison.

After the criticism received I resolved to wash my hands of this problem. If someone intended to poison himself with methyl or ethyl alcohol, let him....

That was my decision, but I was still caught up in the "damned" subject. I shall tell why.

On a trip I happened to chance upon a school for the mentally retarded. The teacher told me about one of the children there. I cannot forget those enormous but empty children's eyes, the idiotic smile, the large head and the skinny neck. The mother and father are completely normal and healthy people. Only the father liked to play the accordion. He was invited for pay to play at parties and weddings. And at the party he was "fortified" with alcohol. Day after day the young man became addicted to liquor. He began to drink more alone, without music and company. Later came the child and a heavy shroud of suffering in the young family. The physicians were categoric--it was a case of alcoholic conception.

This term has been known by mankind since antiquity. In the Roman Empire the newly-weds were strictly forbidden to drink with their guests on the wedding day. Human experience had suggested to people that there was a certain link between drinking and the abnormal development of the fetus. Under the conditions of those times it took a long time, many unfortunate children had to be born and many family tragedies

had to occur before they reached the conclusion of alcoholic conception. They were known in many countries as "carnival children."

That is why I am returning to the subject. Our country drinks a lot. The greatest misfortune is that no one can say the amount of consumed alcohol. And for the simple reason that the citizens are permitted to produce their own alcohol. And everyone produces as much as he likes.

Recently I attended a high-level conference where the question of the sugar shortage was being discussed. Amazing data were given. In our country, per capita sugar consumption is 34 kg per year. But according to the studies of the Ministry of Public Health and the institutes under it, 24 kg per year are sufficient to fully meet the physiological requirements of a person. The remainder is overeating and harmful to the health. Then voices were heard: why this overfeeding of sugar and sometimes in the stores you cannot find a single kilo for an entire month! A contradiction. There is the fact that we consume a lot of sugar and at the same time it cannot be found in the stores. The answer came from a representative of the Ministry of Internal Trade and Public Services who described how its bodies had made a check and found individuals with bags of sugar. In one Stara Zagora village, at one person's they found an entire 250 kg of sugar and an enormous barrel with 500 kg of rape also packed with sugar.

The business is not in the sugar although this question is certainly important. Each year our nation imports sugar to satisfy its requirements. While last year a ton of sugar on the international market cost under 400 dollars, at present the price has jumped to 1,000 dollars. To pay heaps of money for sugar and afterwards turn it into alcohol is absurd.

But the crux of the problem is not in the sugar, but rather in alcoholic intoxication and ultimately in the physical and mental degeneration of the following generations.

What can be done? One of the sources of evil is the still-brewed, home-made liquor which is cheap and easily available. I feel that the time has come to eliminate once and for all the production of home-made alcohol.

That is how it is throughout the rest of the world.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

OCTOBER 1980 ISSUE OF SED THEORETICAL JOURNAL REVIEWED

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 28 Oct 80 p 4

[Martin Quill review of East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 10, October 1980, signed to press 11 September 1980, pp 977-1088: "Success Offers the Best Arguments." Translations and/or summaries of articles by the authors referred to below, as well as by others, are published in pages following this review]

[Text] The successes attained are the best arguments, the expression of the trust placed by the people in the party and the fertile soil on which the mass struggle for the increase in national performance is developing. This is stated by Ernst Timm in the October issue of EINHEIT. In several articles the journal outlines how the recently started party elections are being utilized to strike balances and to prepare for the Tenth Party Congress with high performances.

According to Ernst Timm, the energetic action of the millions is the factor responsible for the fine results of our policy. Referring to examples from Rostock Bezirk, the author shows how new reserves are being mobilized in industry and agriculture. The high standards for 1981 are the result of a creative exchange of ideas and the inclusion of the working people in the planning of social projects.

In another article, Werner Kirchhoff deals with the results of the constant trustful cooperation of all social forces under the leadership of the party of the workers class. The social involvement of hundreds of thousands has its roots in the personal experience of every citizen that the great construction work of the past few decades has been fruitful. The Tenth Party Congress will map out a new development phase, thus showing every citizen his place and his prospects.

In another part of the journal, Rolf Jobst discusses experiences of the Gera Bezirk party organization in guiding the competition, while Hans Nieswand and Eckhard Otto, using the Wulfersdorf Agricultural Producer Cooperative (Crop Production) [LPG (P)] as an example, demonstrate how higher yields can be achieved in agriculture. The utilization of performance reserves at the Heckert Combine is the subject of a contribution by Edgar Aurich and Herbert Ecke. Herbert Steininger provides proof that the socialist state, the political power of the working people, is the inalienable basis of societal and personal freedom.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIALIST STATE POWER DEFINED AS PRECONDITION FOR PERSONAL FREEDOM

West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 150, 3 Oct 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Considers Its Economic Course the 'Only Correct One,'"  
A translation of the East Berlin EINHEIT article by Prof Herbert Steininger referred to below follows this commentary]

[Excerpt] The party paper (EINHEIT No 10, 1980) denies resolutely in this connection that an unbridgeable gap could exist between the socialist state and its citizens, between state interests and the interests of the individual, between state policy and individual freedom. Such an idea was the product of bourgeois-idealistic conceptions of the state, of the freedom of personality, and of the nature of socialism. The working people's diverse activities reflected that the socialist state was no state in the traditional sense, was no longer a power and oppression instrument by an exploiting class. That, however, always also implied proceeding with all the toughness of state power and of law against all those who endangered or sought to disturb the socialist order and its peaceful construction. And precisely because that was not being permitted, they would slander the socialist state and accuse it of dictatorial methods of government.

Marxist Philosopher's Discussion

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 10, signed to press 11 Sep 80 pp 1022-1029

[Article by Prof Dr Herbert Steininger, program director, Marxist-Leninist Philosophy Department, Humboldt University, East Berlin: "The Socialist State and Freedom of Personality." A translation of an earlier EINHEIT article on this subject by the same author, containing references to related topics treated by other writers, is available in JPRS 76481, 24 Sep 80, No 1815 of this series, pp 80-91]

[Text] In confronting the bourgeois freedom demagoguery and the slander of the socialist state, the following is proved: In consequence of the socialist revolution, the relationship between the state and the individual changes fundamentally. The socialist state guarantees societal as well as personal freedom. The consolidation of socialist state power and the perfecting of socialist democracy are crucial conditions for the free development of personality.

In the combines and enterprises, the cooperatives and service facilities, the universities, public education and health institutions--everywhere in our country the draft of the 1981 economic plan was being discussed in recent weeks. Many hundreds of thousands of working people took part in work collectives, in FDGB union group plena and in other plan discussions, and took a position on the draft plan, made suggestions, pointed out reserves not used or not sufficiently used thus far, criticized deficiencies and pointed out how to eliminate them.

Whatever came under discussion here and there--it always was a question of what was necessary and had to be done to enhance our country's economic efficiency significantly and further insure, through the energy of all of us, our proven course of unity between economic and social policy. It concerned the acceleration of scientific-technical progress and, thus, the crucial chainlink of our economy's continued stable and dynamic development. It amounted to the most rational ways for manufacturing a larger number of high-grade products that would satisfy the economic needs of the enterprises and public supplies as much as the demand for export products providing good foreign exchange. It involved the indispensable prerequisite for carrying on our party policy, aimed at the good of the people, and for raising labor productivity above the measure considered normal up to now, in our increasing the use value from every mark invested, every working hour, every ounce of material. It is understandable that this discussion brought up many problems in labor organization, labor conditions and labor process management, contradictions were revealed in our development and means for resolving them were pointed out.

Workers, cooperative farmers, scientists and employees discussed expertly, responsibly, sovereignly and critically economic and sociopolitical matters, which in part had become very complicated because of the changed conditions. They introduced their own ideas and suggestions into the discussion of the draft plan, influenced its being rendered more precise and the elaboration of the best ways for fulfilling it, and they committed themselves to make a responsible personal contribution to it. No one in our state thinks there is anything particular in this. We rather have taken this to be the ordinary way it has been for a long time. We have, but not so the declared enemies of real socialism who, beyond our western national border, keep refurbishing their anticommunist illusions, incessantly reiterating, like a broken record, their thesis of an unbridgeable contradiction between the socialist state and its citizens, between the interests of the state and the interests of the working people, between state policy and the freedom of the individual. "Where socialism became the prevailing state doctrine, the freedom of the individual was first restricted and then repressed more and more relentlessly,"<sup>1</sup> says Franz Josef Strauss, short and sweet and without worrying about even the slightest reason and evidence for his absurd thesis. Like Morgenstern's Palmsstroem, he argues razor-witted that nothing can be which is not permitted in socialism according to the perverted anticommunist notion of it.

Not only because the relationship between the socialist state and the work collective and between the socialist state and the individual working people, as reflected in the plan discussion, is a most sensitive thorn in the side of the anticommunists of all shades, it pays pondering this relationship and examining it somewhat more closely.

## Reflective of a Fundamental Change

Why then does the interest and does the readiness in actively taking part in the plan discussion and in plan fulfillment grow so unmistakably? What is one to infer from that the work collectives and many individual working people are making the problems of economic planning a matter of their own and are seeking ever improving ways and more effective means to solve them, concerned with matters that far transcend what one could call their "private sphere?"

All this touches on questions of the greatest theoretical and political-practical weight. It concerns the nature of socialist society itself and of the type of state that conforms with it, the inevitabilities of its existence and development, and the characteristic features of the relationship between the state and the individual. The notion that an unbridgeable gap exists between the socialist state and the individual, his freedom, his possibilities for developing and playing an active role, his responsibility for the whole, and his activities and initiatives is the product of bourgeois-idealistic conceptions of the state, of the freedom of personality, of the nature of socialism. With the reality of socialism it has nothing to do. That does not care whether and how it is being measured by the yardstick of bourgeois ideology. What bourgeois ideology cannot comprehend and will always deny, because of its class-bound limitations, its subservience to the interests of monopoly capital and its abysmal enmity to everything that truly represents and causes social progress, is the idea that was theoretically established by the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism to the effect that in consequence of the socialist revolution the relationship between the state and the individual changes fundamentally. Through establishing the first victorious state of the dictatorship of the proletariat in the Soviet Union, that idea became reality. Today it essentially determines the development in the countries of real socialism.

The plan discussion, the competition and innovator movement, the diverse initiatives in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress and many other activities reflect this change and its far-reaching effects in public life--a change based on the fact that the socialist state no longer is a state in the traditional sense, no longer a power and suppression instrument by an exploiter class used against the working people, but the power instrument of the workers class led by the Marxist-Leninist party and, thus, a form of the working class alliance with all other working people. The socialist state of the workers and farmers of the GDR is a form of the dictatorship of the proletariat that represents the interests of all the people. In this it differs qualitatively from any kind of exploiter state which, as demonstrated by history and the capitalist present at once, never was nor is a representative of the working people's interests. And precisely because the socialist state embodies, insures and enforces the interests of all working people, it never is a dictatorship over the masses--however much bourgeois ideologues want you to believe that. How could anyone, for example, "dictate" the massive initiative of the working people in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress?

Exercising power and representing the interests of the people always, however, also means opposing all those with all the toughness of state power and of the law who endanger and seek to disturb the socialist order and its peaceful construction. And precisely because we do not allow that to happen, they are slandering the socialist state and accuse it of dictatorial methods of government.

Whereas it is typical of the capitalist state that it, a tool of the economically and politically ruling minority, opposes the interests of the working people and the struggle for making them prevail, the nature of the socialist state is primarily determined by it being used by the workers class and the working people allied with it to form their public life and to be able to insure their free personal development. Whereas the capitalist state--to quote Marx and Engels--always remains a "surrogate of community," marking, despite all the protestations to the contrary, the deep and unbridgeable split in that society between the interests of the exploiter class and those of the exploited classes and strata, the socialist state is the unifying organization of the workers class and its allies toward the exercise of power, the conscious and planned shaping of society.

#### Socialist Democracy and Freedom

Based on his experiences with the 1848/49 revolution in France, Karl Marx came to the conclusion that the capitalist state in its essence and functions opposes the construction of a truly human society and sets up insurmountable barriers to the free development of personality. To destroy the bureaucratic-military machinery of the bourgeois state and replace it by a new political organization of society is what he termed the precondition for any real people's revolution. V. I. Lenin regarded this conclusion as what was most important in the Marxist conception of the state.<sup>2</sup> Time and time again he proved the deep meaning of the democratic character of the socialist state, it consisting in insuring the freedom of the working people in the reality of daily existence, not merely by words or in high-flown slogans of solemn declarations.<sup>3</sup> The workers class is, in its innermost core, democratic in every way. In freeing itself from exploitation, it for the first time also eliminated the exploitation of all other working people and thus also the consequences of exploitation for the existence and development of the individual, for the freedom of personality.

If things were not so serious, with more far-reaching and carefully considered anti-socialist aims behind them, designs to "internally softening up" the socialist countries, one could make fun of the "concern" by bourgeois ideologues about "uniting socialism and democracy." There is nothing funny about that concern. More than 60 years ago already, V. I. Lenin unmasked its reactionary meaning. Opposing Kautsky, who thought the opposition between Bolsheviks and Mensheviks came down to the opposition between "democratic and dictatorial" methods, Lenin made clear that the matter essentially amounted to the differences in class content as between the proletarian and the bourgeois state, between proletarian and bourgeois democracy. Negating the bourgeois state and bourgeois democracy means proceeding toward a new, socialist democracy, new in principle. It not only expands the rights and freedoms of the working people, it enables the workers class and its allies to do something that is historically unprecedented--to exercise power and thus to consciously and systematically shape its own conditions of life.<sup>4</sup>

With the construction of the socialist state there evolves and develops a historically new type of democracy, socialist democracy. This is a hard and complicated process in which time and time again new developmental contradictions have to be resolved. For the first time socialist democracy enables all working people actually to exercise political power and shape ever more consciously their vital conditions themselves. That is why, for Marx and Engels, the concepts "the rising of the proletariat to become the ruling class" and the "gaining of democracy through

struggle" are concepts identical in meaning.<sup>5</sup> And V. I. Lenin pointed out that the socialist state is always and under all circumstances "a million times more democratic than any bourgeois democracy."<sup>6</sup>

That is so mainly because the political power of the working people is the indispensable basis for their social and personal freedom, i.e., for their possibility and real ability to control the objective conditions of their real life processes. As to the content of social freedom, it essentially consists in that the working people, who exercise the political power and own the means of production, increasingly better and more extensively, under the leadership of the workers class and its party, direct, plan and organize the growth of the productive forces, the further shaping of production relations and, on that basis, the development of all sides and areas of public life in conformity with the recognized inevitabilities of nature and society. Plan discussion is but one element in this process, but a very important one. It is no end in itself, nor is it pursued for just any kind of purpose, detached from the individual or for some state interest opposed to the individual. On the contrary: the meaning and purpose ultimately lies in creating the economic preconditions for a human, dignified, fulfilled, and happy existence for all members of socialist society.

All forms of the citizens' active participation in all areas of state management and planning and in all phases of the state planning process thus are reflective of socialist democracy, an essential feature of which is the dialectical interaction between social and personal freedom. That holds true for the activity of more than 200,000 citizens of our republic in the elected people's representations--from the People's Chamber to the city-kreis assemblies and the community representations--as for the activity of circa 500,000 citizens in standing commissions and activists' groups of the local people's representations. It holds true for more than 300,000 citizens working on 17,000 National Front commissions, for more than 200,000 elected members of the conflicts commissions and more than 50,000 elected members of the arbitration commissions. It holds true for more than 200,000 citizens working as volunteer associates in the Workers' and Farmers' Inspectorate on circa 6,500 control commissions, and for almost 700,000 citizens deliberating on and being involved in the decision-making on cultural and educational problems at parents' advisory councils and in groups of teachers' aids. This extensively applies to all who take part in the popular discussion of the basic laws of their state.

While these figures alone may not say much of the content of our socialist democracy as practiced in the various bodies, it still indicates the enormous strength of commitment by hundreds of thousands and the voluntary participation on behalf of all of socialist society and their very own and personal interests. "It is the strength of socialist democracy that it pervades all domains of public life and makes fruitful to an ever growing extent the activity, expertise, and creativity of the people for society," Comrade Erich Honecker stated in his SED Central Committee report to the ninth party congress. The development of our society in recent years has confirmed the unqualified justification and enormous importance of that statement.

Above and beyond the impressive facts referred to, the same is borne out by the active participation of millions of citizens in trade union functions, in social

affairs and health affairs, in the various areas of culture, sports, commerce, transportation and the keeping of order and safety. Even if some of our problems have not yet been resolved, or at least not yet adequately so, we dare say that most working people in our country are directly involved in managing the state, the economy and other areas of public life, are involved in the exercise of power regardless of their world-outlook, religion and party membership. The exercise and realization of power is part of their life in the enterprise, the work collective, and the residential area.

Within this power system the trade unions occupy a prominent place. They are the agents of the working people's interests and the organizers of their practical exercise of power at once. The scope of trade union initiative and activity has expanded importantly in recent years which can, above all, be glimpsed from the development in the range and substance of socialist competition, in the growth and effect of which the trade unions have had a significant share. Or let us recall the important documents which, based on the decisions of the Eighth and Ninth SED Congresses, pertain to the implementation of our sociopolitical program. They are almost unanimous in their wording as joint resolutions by the SED Central Committee, the FDGB Federal Executive Board and the GDR Council of Ministers with respect to improving the working people's working and living conditions. The far-reaching statement in the SED Program, which conforms with the nature of socialist democracy, that the trade unions as the agents of the working people's interests bear a great responsibility for the all-round strengthening of the socialist social order and the stable development of our socialist economy<sup>8</sup> is a reality of the working people's social and individual life in our country.

#### New Quality of Power--New Quality of Freedom

What does this all mean to the dialectics of social and personal freedom? With the strengthening and solidifying of socialist democracy, increasingly comprehensive preconditions and ever stronger impulses for personal freedom, for the free development of personality, develop in socialism. In making this statement, we consider that the concept "personal freedom" in the Marxist-Leninist sense has a clear and firmly delineated content. In contrast to the idealistic notion that man is free "through his negative capacity of avoiding one thing or another," Marx and Engels established the materialistic idea that man is free "through his positive capacity of bringing his individuality to bear."<sup>9</sup> That a man can do only if he confirms his humanity, i.e., is actively and creatively at work, takes part practically in the social and historic process, and develops and constantly perfects the knowledge and skills required for it.

The socialist state is the political organization of the workers class and all working people. It relies on the active and creative activity of its citizens. It thrives on the active participation of millions who assume responsibilities and share in the work, the planning and the government. From the nature of this type of state comes the constant thrust for citizens involved in the work, the planning and the government who, expertly, rich in knowledge and actively, turn "public affairs" into their very own and find the solution of their own problems closely interconnected with the "public affairs."

We are dealing here with a most crucial premise for personal freedom and a most crucial source for its further development. To participate actively and consciously in the shaping of public life calls for solid technical knowledge and political knowledge. It requires increasingly deeper insights into social contexts and their inevitabilities. That forms personality features--to put it briefly--through which the freedom of personality, for all intents and purposes, expresses itself in one's ability to make expedient decisions in matters of one's own personal and of public life. The freedom of personality here also finds its expression in that man understands and perceives himself as the master of his life and the master of his future and understands and perceives the power of the workers class and its allies as the human power of his own class, of the working people, that serves man and in which he himself has a part.

Whereas all previous historic types of the exploiter state opposed the freedom of personality and of working man, where personality and personal freedom always had to be maintained in opposition to state power, the socialist revolution initiates a development which is marked both by the new quality of power as socialist state power and by the new quality of freedom as the freedom of working man in socialism. Their relationship with each other becomes a reciprocal relationship of beneficial effects. Freedom of personality can unfold to the extent that socialist state power is solidified and, through the growth of the material and intellectual-cultural forces of socialism and the perfecting of public relations, the conditions for the existence and development both of the individual and of all society are insured at an ever higher level.

To the revolutionary workers movement the key problem of freedom always was and is the question of power. At times one finds the opinion that this applied to social freedom but not to the freedom of personality. Then it is being argued that personal and public freedom are not identical, that personal freedom in socialism does not automatically follow from social freedom. No doubt what is right about this notion is that personal freedom is not exclusively determined by its social premises. Individual-subjective factors play a great role of course in its development. The main point to be stressed is that personal freedom can unfold on its social premises only to the extent that the individual actively participates in the development of social freedom and consciously uses the possibilities for personality formation offered by socialism. That, as one knows, still happens in diversified ways.

#### The Class Issue As Crucial

Political power as exercised by the workers class in alliance with all working people and as embodied by the socialist state makes possible and insures the formation of men's skills and abilities and their all-round development as free personalities. It involves the further perfecting of socialist democracy in all areas, our economic and social policy, aimed at the good of the people, our highly developed educational system, health care and recreation, and our extensive social security measures for the citizen. The political power of the workers class above all insures the crucial foundation for free personality development--the people's ownership and right of disposition of all decisive means of production and the country's wealth, and thus the most important of all freedoms: the freedom from the debasing exploitation of the working people by the monopolies. The political power

of the workers class guarantees all working people of the right to work in reality and thus of the field of freedom and dignity of personality in which the matter of being truly human primarily is settled. The political power of the workers class guarantees each citizen of the right to express his opinion freely in conformity with constitutional principles and be free from intellectual suppression and moral deformation by capitalist monopolies and the medias they control. The political power of the workers class guarantees each citizens' inviolability, as an essential prerequisite for the freedom of personality, and equal rights and duties for him, regardless of his nationality, race, sex, world-outlook, religious faith, and social origin and position.

Socialist state power thus is the decisive foundation for social as well as personal freedom. It is and remains the unshakable guarantee that—to quote Friedrich Engels—"each can freely develop his human nature and live with his neighbors under humane conditions and need not fear any violent upheavals in his life situation."<sup>10</sup>

That bourgeois ideologists will never accept this Marxist-Leninist insight, as confirmed by history, is perfectly understandable. The fundamental class antagonism between socialism and capitalism, one may say, concentrates on the question about the nature of socialist state power and its connection with social and individual freedom. The ideologues of monopoly capital, including those of the right social democrats, ask that question from the standpoint of those who defend the "sacred right" to the private ownership in the means of production. That we have won through struggle, and constructed, a state power that has irrevocably terminated that "right" forever in our country and thereby deprived the monopoly bourgeoisie and the landed gentry of the economic foundation on which they used to exercise their power is something they keep considering as a corrigible breakdown of history. And so they attack everything that serves the consolidation of our socialist state power, slandering it as "suppression of personal freedom." They are extolling the "pure" democracy of capital as the incarnation of freedom as such and are recommending to us the model of bourgeois democracy—not all that rarely with reference to the thesis of "pure" democracy as advocated by Kautsky.

In his work, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," Lenin strikingly revealed the nature of bourgeois democracy. Bourgeois democracy, he wrote, "always remains narrow, restricted, false and mendacious—nor could it be any different in capitalism—, a paradise for the rich, a trap and fraud for the exploited, the poor."<sup>11</sup> This Leninist appraisal is fully valid today, without any qualification. Wherever they chatter the most of "pure democracy" or of a "libertarian-democratic basic order" and the like, no one can pretend that the members of the workers class and of the other working classes and strata have or can resort to extensive democratic rights and freedoms—those of personality included. What there is of democratic rights and freedoms in those countries, they have been won by the struggle of the workers and other working people there against the prevailing social order and the state power. Heavy struggles it often costs the working people to defend those rights and freedoms against the attacks by monopoly capital. Communist parties are banned, emergency laws decreed, peaceful demonstrators are inhumanly put in their place, job restrictions are decreed, racial terror is unleashed, and assassinations of political opponents are by no means rare. And all this—the list could be extended at will—happens in the name of democracy and freedom.

Their noisiest chatter cannot change the fact that the freedom of personality also depends on the class question: Freedom for whom? Freedom for what, for which goals, for which purposes?

In the construction and higher development of socialist society there evolves, on historically new foundations, that historic-concrete relationship in which freedom manifests itself: men's relationship with the objective laws of nature and society and their ability to understand them and subject them to their purposes. The scientific world-outlook of the workers class always proceeded from the realization that it is that very relationship in which the true nature of human freedom expresses itself. In the same context in which Friedrich Engels remarks that freedom is nothing else but mastery over ourselves and over external nature, based on our understanding the necessities of nature, he also names the most important conditions for "real human freedom, for an existence in harmony with recognized natural laws": the abolition of the exploiter society and of the "worry about the means for individual subsistence," i.e., the creation and development of a historically new society, molded by the power of the revolutionary workers class.<sup>12</sup>

To construct that society may well be the boldest and also heaviest work ever undertaken by men. That requires a leadership force, a Marxist-Leninist party, which derives its authority over the people from being consistently oriented to its well-being and from having the strength to lead all the people in that direction even under complicated conditions, clear in focus and sure of its goal. Our extremely prescient party policy on solidifying socialist state power and perfecting socialist democracy, firmly based on the Marxist-Leninist theory of the socialist revolution, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the development of the socialist state, belongs among the most important tasks of a society that counts the freedom of personality among its supreme ideals. In this sense our party always pays the greatest attention to strengthening the socialist state power and perfecting socialist democracy. That is necessary and inseparable from boosting the development of the leading role of the workers class and its Marxist-Leninist party, and from reinforcing its alliance with the class of the cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and the other working people.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. DEUTSCHLAND MAGAZIN, Munich, No 8, 1979, p 9.
2. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "State and Revolution," "Werke" (Works) Vol 25, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1960, p 428.
3. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Great Initiative," "Werke," Vol 29, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1961, pp 408-409; "Welcome to the Hungarian Workers," ibid., Vol 29, p 377.
4. Cf. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution and Renegade Kautsky," ibid., Vol 28, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 230.
5. Karl Marx/Friedrich Engels, "Communist Manifesto," "Werke," Vol 4, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1959, p 481.

6. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution . . .," loc. cit., p 247.
7. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 113.
8. Cf. "Programm der Sozialistischen Einheitspartei Deutschlands," Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 43.
9. Friedrich Engels/Karl Marx, "The Holy Family," "Werke," Vol 2, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1957, p 138.
10. Friedrich Engels, "Two Speeches in Elberfeld," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 2, p 556.
11. V. I. Lenin, "The Proletarian Revolution . . .," loc. cit., p 241.
12. Friedrich Engels, "Anti-Duehring," Marx/Engels, "Werke," Vol 20, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1962, pp 106-107.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SOCIOPOLITICAL ASPECTS OF VOCATIONAL COUNSELING DISCUSSED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 11 Sep 80  
pp 1035-1042

[Article by Prof Dr Willi Kuhrt, first dean (prorektor), Erich Weinert Pedagogical College, Magdeburg: "Vocational Counseling and Vocational Choice." Translations of the official text of the two GDR decrees cited in footnotes 6 and 9 are published along with some West German commentaries under the following quoted headings in JPRS 75361, 24 Mar 80, No 1774 of this series: Footnote 6--"New Regulation Published Defining Responsibilities of Combines (pp 44-75); footnote 9--"New School Decree Examined" (pp 76-107)]

[Text] Vocational choice becomes more and more a political-ideological test situation for young people to get their guidance from the objective requirements of scientific-technical progress and the norms and values of socialist work and society. It is the task of vocational counseling to help the young people harmonizing as much as possible the social with their personal interests. What are the factors that affect this process of finding a vocation? What is the particular responsibility of the enterprises in perfecting vocational counseling?

The ninth party congress focused on "perfecting vocational counseling toward harmonizing as much as possible social with personal interests."<sup>1</sup> Important advances have been made in the 1970's toward developing vocational counseling in this direction. In terms of substance and in a didactic and methodological sense it was more strongly embedded within the uniform socialist educational system, yet it was not ignored that the individual process of finding a vocation, as an active process in the young people's personality development, is affected by many objective and subjective factors which far transcend the competency of the secondary school.<sup>2</sup> Successes can be reported also in our gradually setting up a total of 217 vocational counseling centers, pedagogical institutions covering all kreises in the republic and coordinating vocational counseling activities within the territory.

## Higher Requirements for Vocational Counseling

In view of the requirements for our social and economic development in the 1980's, increasing importance attaches to a conscious vocational choice made by each youngster --whether to become a specialist, start technical school or university studies, or begin his vocational activities by enlisting in the armed forces. Vocational choice more and more becomes a genuine political-ideological test situation in which it is demonstrated whether the young person is able and willing to let himself be guided by the objective requirements for our scientific-technical progress and the norms and values of socialist work and society.

The further shaping of the developed socialist society is inseparable from the intensification of expanded socialist reproduction which of necessity implies mastery of our scientific-technical revolution and brings with it penetrating changes in the conditions and functions of labor. That has far-reaching implications for vocational counseling and vocational choice because coping with scientific-technical progress in service to socialism, for the good of the people, and our combining the advantages of socialism with the scientific-technical revolution, presupposes after all a profound understanding of science and technology, the release of what is creative in the personality development of the pupils and youths, a knowledge of the dialectics between social and scientific-technical progress, and political awareness. Vocational counseling and vocational choice must consider that not every vocational activity leads to an ever higher intellectual-creative level in a straight line while yet in general the social responsibility of a working person does grow in the production situation. Making pupils, in accordance with their abilities, primarily focus on occupations that to a special degree conform with economic and social requirements implies developing their sense of responsibility and their willingness also to work on jobs where, along with the greater ease in work that scientific-technical progress has brought, heavy physical demands are still waiting for them.

The higher demands placed on vocational counseling also are caused by the fact that the pupils' e. young people's choosing a vocation has assumed the character of a process. Practice and scientific investigations have brought the evidence that snappy and haphazard choices not rarely lead to instability and aversion during vocational training and, later on, to socially undesirable vocational fluctuations. Three large stages in the process of choosing a vocation have to be distinguished: the preliminary decision stage, the actual process of the vocational choice in the upper terms of the general education schools, and the stage after the job decision was made. Each of these three main stages is marked by some typical requirements.

In the preliminary stage the pupils start asking some questions about their future occupation. There are individual differences in when this begins, but this usually comes at the time when the first inclinations about an occupation arise, when the imagination or highly affective situations in many ways paint a picture of the job one wants. These first inclinations often come spontaneously and are more or less permanent. In this preliminary stage, the pupil's range of ideas about his future vocation is enlarged by realistic and instructive information. Educators seek to bring an influence to bear on not basing occupational inclinations on superficial or idealized opinions about the occupation. For that reason they inform the pupils

as they grow old enough for it about the social and occupational demands made by their job options. In this preliminary stage, scientific, technical and other vocational interests and inclinations are developed. A healthy pupil normally is suited for several occupation groups. For that reason one ought to avoid deciding on a particular educational or occupational course prematurely. Fostering a positive attitude toward two or three fields turns out to be of benefit, however, as this would form the basis for the pupils' desire to meet social and vocational demands as best they can.

The stage of the actual process of the vocational choice is going to entail for all pupils the period from the middle of eighth grade to the start of 10th grade, with the emphasis placed on all of ninth grade, since the preparation classes at the expanded high schools have fulfilled their transitional function and will no longer be formed with the start of the 1981-82 school year. There is an advantage in this new condition because now one can opt for university preparation later than at the start of eighth grade and can be more certain about it. In our practical work of education, however, this calls for much more closely combining our vocational choice preparation with the study option, so that a more concentrated effort becomes necessary at this stage in job and study orientation. What is mainly needed here is a higher level of vocational choice. The vocational choice a young person has to make must be a conscious and free decision.

A vocational choice can be called conscious only "if the person in question demonstrates foresight, circumspection and insight with respect to his particular situation."<sup>3</sup> Foresight in this case means the decision is prepared clear in purpose, with resourcefulness and with discernment as to its consequences. The demand for circumspection means the young person adequately understands the external conditions and circumstances and adapts the steps he takes to them. Insight demands of the pupil that the steps he takes are laid down in recognition of given social requirements after the personal preconditions are met too. An older pupil thus has to be enabled to make his own appraisal of his technical and moral qualifications with respect to his own personal vocational objectives, because it is not the apprenticeship or the university admission one has wanted that will produce (spontaneous) satisfaction and fulfillment later in life, but that will only come from successful work on the job one has chosen. To make a conscious job decision, a young person must be adequately informed beforehand because without reliable information no one can make conscious decisions. This involves a whole lot of reliable information that will make possible finding and explaining satisfying vocational alternatives. The main thing in the future will be actively to involve the pupils and young people in vocational counseling measures because the quality of vocational decision processes can be improved only through what they themselves will do.

On the model of Soviet pedagogics, greater attention has also been given in recent years to the phase of vocational adaption in the GDR since the process of finding an occupation does not end with the vocational choice and not until vocational testing is over. For that reason, vocational counseling investigations have also been considering the stage after the vocational choice. It confirmed the assumption that a high-level vocational choice favorably affects both the training success and vocational testing. It also brought out clearly the need to have a vocational decision corroborated or confirmed by qualified teachers or other working people so that there be a full identification with one's occupation and, eventually, the bonds with and pride in one's occupation are fully developed.

## Factors Affecting the Vocational Choice Process

Several investigations of recent years in various GDR kreises and bezirks have revealed how many-layered vocational choice and the factors affecting it are. Disregarding minor, territorially conditioned, differences, two tendencies are prominent in this. First, in connection with scientific-technical progress and the greater occupational mobility of adults and young persons that comes from it, there is now a greater need for well qualified vocational counseling. Considerable segments of the population (young persons, parents, relatives, teachers, responsible personnel in enterprises and social organizations) deal with questions of vocational counseling year after year, so that they have become a part of political mass activity. We have every good reason to stress the political as well as social function of our vocational counseling when confronted with all the bourgeois tirades about an allegedly free choice of vocation in capitalism. Social security and safety a young citizen will find mainly at work, in his work collective. Youth unemployment or massive layoffs in labor conditions are alien to socialist society as it is. Free occupational choice must always be seen in connection with a constitutionally guaranteed right to work, which includes the claim to a kind of vocational training, and a vocational counseling commensurate with it, that conforms to the most up-to-date status of production. In the 30-year history of the GDR such conditions have been created by the workers class and its allies, so that now social security and a free vocational choice exist in dialectic unity. That is a political fact of which much more should be made in all vocational counseling activities.

Second, there has been an increase in the factors that affect vocational choice in recent years (through vocational counseling centers, mass media, teachers in vocational counseling at the high schools, youth physicians and others). Though late in the 1970's minor shifts resulted in the effectiveness of the various influence factors (e.g., the influence of the mass media has grown), parents unequivocally continue to have more of an influence than the enterprises and schools. That is perfectly understandable because advice from the persons closest to the adolescents will always be especially effective. It also gives rise to problems, especially when such influence is based more on emotions than on expertise. The vocational counseling centers influence the vocational choice process through their information materials and group and individual consultations. It would not make much sense, however, to set up and interpret a detailed order of rank among the various influence factors because vocational counseling in socialist society is an overall social concern that should admit no "against one another" but only a "with one another." What is crucial is that the most important education forces work together through coordination. Margot Honecker said about that at the Eighth Educational Congress: "This task will be fulfilled ever better when career guidance and preparation for the choice of a trade are not general in nature, when young people are given concrete advice on vocational requirements and training and when parents, school, enterprises and career guidance centers take their responsibility for this decisive step in the lives of children seriously."<sup>4</sup>

## Girls and Technical Careers

More girls have in recent years been attracted to technical and natural science studies. Also in the training of specialists, the proportion of female apprentices

has risen in technical occupations. One problem at present, however, lies in that too large a percentage of girls and young women changes jobs after their vocational training, so that society suffers economic losses in education. The causes for it are diverse. Often there is a lack of stable technical interests because they were not adequately developed in girls.

Already in the preschool age, during play at home or in the kindergarten a well balanced use of technical toys can cut down on the sex-specific differentiation often still found when our small children are at play. That is neither career guidance nor career orientation, to be sure, but an indirectly managed and pleasurable attention to matters that touch on the field of technology. In families where there is no doubt about the girls' capabilities in the technical and natural science area, the fostering of technical interests applies to them as it does to boys. Parents who induce their daughter to take part in technical study groups here or there act correctly. Abilities and inclinations develop through activity. Providing the girls in good time with appropriate possibilities that conform with the requirements for scientific-technical progress is a genuine aid in preparing them for their trades or studies.

The school, enterprise and youth association can still make better use of their possibilities for arousing technical interests in girls if they cooperate purposefully. That can be done, for instance, by forming and conducting technical study groups principally meant for girls. Such study groups also can be run by women who themselves have technical jobs in their enterprise, so that they can set an example for the girls. Open-mindedness toward participating in that kind of study group may be awakened in a thematic membership meeting of the socialist youth association.

Another reason why we have not been successful throughout in attracting girls to technical occupations is that the combines, vocational counseling centers and mass media have not yet provided the parents, the teachers (mainly the female teachers) and the girls themselves with enough information about the development possibilities and working conditions for women in the technical field. Of course, because of their special physical constitution, girls are not as a matter of course cut out for just any kind of technical job. The new job resumes now being published by the State Secretariat for Vocational Training give information about that. Important further is that every enterprise accurately taps all suitable jobs for women under current and future conditions, so that the vocational training for girls can in fact lead to longtime jobs.

#### Involvement of Social Forces

The socialist enterprises play an important role in perfecting vocational counseling and improving the level of job decision-making. They are both the starting point for job orientation activities and fields in which the pupils can concretize the career ideas and attitudes they have gained.<sup>5</sup> Enterprise responsibility for organizing a largely closed reproduction process, the development of the social labor assets included, also is of an importance of principle for an educationally effective career choice preparation for the pupils and young people. The new decree on the state-owned combines and enterprises, of 8 November 1979, therefore commits the

enterprise to "long-term conceptual work on the development of the qualifications and career structure."<sup>6</sup> This anticipatory planning of a new generation of specialists and technical engineers is an important prerequisite, under the conditions of social and scientific-technical progress, for pedagogically preparing the pupils for their work, vocational choice and trade. Alterations in the career structure are of consequence, e.g., to providing pupils with jobs in productive labor, the selection of trade-specific labor tasks, and the setting up of new working teams in technical production. They have a direct effect on those functions in polytechnical education and training that prepare people for occupations.

The economic, political, social and ideological processes occurring in the enterprises offer good opportunities for the pupils' vocational orientation. That is borne out, e.g., by the experiences of the Ernst Thaelmann VEB Heavy Machine Construction Combine in Magdeburg. Based on the resolution, "For a High-level Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions in the Field of Vocational Training," a comprehensive action plan was worked out, under the leadership by the enterprise party organization, for having the working people in the enterprise aid the pupils in their job orientation. The social and state managers in the enterprise were charged with assisting the working people in this important educational task. Today, concrete measures combine the ideological-moral education, the work education and the polytechnical education of school youth with adequate job orientation. Thus the action plan of the combine, which has the character of a management document, includes precise rules for an educationally expedient organization of polytechnical instruction, high-level team work activity, active support of pioneer and FDJ work in schools, and pedagogic propaganda in the enterprise, as much as for aiding the working people in their family education, the work of the polytechnical advisory council, the working people's membership on the parents' advisory councils and so forth. When the trade union organization in the enterprise used many working people to assist the pupils in the process of finding a vocation, by sponsorship work in 12 schools, not only was the influence of the workers class on the communist education of school youth strengthened, but the job objectives of many pupils became more realistic and took better account of the need for new workers in the territory than was the case in other comparable schools in Magdeburg.

Similarly, under the leadership by the Stendal FDGB Kreis Executive Board, the enterprise trade union managements in large and medium-scale enterprises acted so that, through confident cooperation between workers and pedagogists, enterprises and schools, work collectives and school grades, much agreement was obtained between the pupils' job preferences and the economic requirements in that kreis, where the vocational counseling center also is very busily at work. The FDGB Federal Executive Board drew general inferences from the experiences in Magdeburg and Stendal in a methodical recommendation.<sup>8</sup>

For the third main stage in the search process for a vocation, the stage after the choice has been made, the enterprise bears all the responsibility. While it is true enough that the enterprises must play an active role in vocational counseling especially in the phase of the actual vocational choice down to the signing of the apprenticeship contract in the first few months of 10th grade, it yet is necessary now, after the decision is made, that they still will become pedagogically effective. The months between the signing of the apprenticeship contract and the start of vocational training can be used for solidifying the job objectives by attracting the

future apprentices to discussions with workers, apprentices and state managers and to doing productive volunteer work in the enterprise during their vacation. An expedient and emotionally positive approach to their apprenticeship facilitates their getting started in their vocational training and lays the groundwork for their developing bonds with their enterprise and vocation. Decisive for the apprentices' full vocational identification, however, are the quality of their vocational training, the atmosphere in the enterprise and their receiving individual attention as apprentices. When a young person has made his vocational choice from relatively weak motives, it is especially important that the foremen or instructors pay concrete attention to all the problems such a young person may have.

Aside from the enterprises, it is the high school that significantly contributes to the pupils' long-range vocational counseling at the proper time. This joint responsibility becomes particularly obvious in the manner in which polytechnical instruction is organized. Here the pupils are introduced to the technical principles of the production process and learn more from natural science, mathematics and social science instruction. The pupils' productive labor not only skills the boys and girls in technical activities but, by being involved in the production tasks of the enterprise, their knowledge about the work and the occupations becomes more extensive and realistic along with it.

Good work results aid in the development of socially valuable work motivation and encourage the development of characteristics typical of socialist specialists like discipline, collectivity, conscientiousness, creativity and public activity. The job orientation effect of productive labor is bolstered mainly through talks and contacts between workers and pupils. Not every pupil will of course find his trade through his productive labor, yet it is perfectly normal that the number of those pupils has grown in recent years who want to get their vocational training in the same enterprises where they got their polytechnical instruction. Those enterprises, closely cooperating with the high schools, provide methodologically sound practical and theoretical polytechnical instruction commensurate with the conditions of scientific-technical progress.

Further shaping the polytechnical character of our school and deepening communist education are and remain the crucial components in preparing the pupils for their work and trade. Here one ought to include still more organically in the instructional acquisition and cognition process the social experiences the pupils have gained in the various forms of their practical production activities. There are still some reserves here that have not yet been fully tapped. While what mattered especially in recent years was the coordination between instructors and specialists among the workers and the polytechnics instructors, what is now becoming important is that all specialized instructors in mathematics, the natural sciences and the social sciences work together because only through fully tapping the educational potentials in all fields of instruction can the level of the job preparation function of the high school be raised.

The director is responsible for the educational and training process in school, in accordance with the individual management principle. In conformity with the new school system, the school's work plan and the plans for the various grades must set down measures for the "pupils vocational and study guidance and orientation."<sup>9</sup> As the high school director's complex management activity always is crowded with many

different tasks and conditions, he will delegate specific tasks to individual teachers and thereby create the kind of personnel conditions that facilitate the continuity of the work on all management levels. It has been found useful in recent years that almost all high schools have appointed a teacher for vocational counseling as expert assistant to the director for the planning and management of vocational choice preparation without diminishing the director's responsibility.

Expedient management activity in many pedagogs collectives created greater clarity about the essence, objective, substance and methods of socialist vocational counseling. It became clear to the teachers there that vocational guidance is not only just one among many tasks but is also a valuable tool for solving other essential educational tasks, such as labor, civic and military education. The vocational guidance potentials in the extracurricular field also are better utilized when specialized and homeroom teachers get adequate and expedient instruction and when questions of vocational choice preparation are included in teacher training and advanced training.

Together with the high school director, the elected parents' advisory council helps investing vocational counseling as a clearly delineated and substantive task area through the cooperation between the school and the home. It is understandable that many families are moved by the question: "What is to become of our child?" When the parents' advisory council has set up a workable vocational counseling commission, it becomes possible, through the groups of teachers' aides, to draw more parents into the high school's vocational counseling activities. There are many specialists among the parents whose counsel, resulting from their own experience, can more speedily surmount many a prejudice than a word from the teacher can. The elected parents' advisory councils have a list of recommendations available which summarizes the best experiences of parents' advisory councils and parents' activists groups in the field of vocational counseling.<sup>10</sup>

Indispensable to long-term job orientation at the high schools is the participation of the FDJ and the Ernst Thaelmann pioneer organization. It is the specific task of the youth association to awaken, through means expedient among youths, open-mindedness and the readiness among all pupils to come to grips, critically and self-critically, with the substantive issues in vocational choice and to take part in the formation of a socially valuable job motivation. In this the socialist youth association needs the support of the enterprises, pedagogs and vocational counseling centers of course. As part of the "FDJ Party Congress Initiative," the FDJ Central Council has oriented the basic organizations at the high schools to activating the job orientation work of the youth association and give special attention to motivating youngsters for military and pedagogical careers.

After the mass media have in recent years made more than before of the problems in vocational choice, the question arises how good this occupational information has been. This information should be as concrete and vivid as possible. Its pitch should point not only to the specialized field, but it should also explain the social function of the occupation and convey social value orientations. There are many different job orientation brochures, but they are very uneven in quality. The range stretches from simple promotional material all the way to educationally valuable information about a combine.

Setting up a network of vocational counseling centers has been an innovation. The various initiatives from the enterprises, schools and social organizations receive an increasingly better coordination on the territorial level through the competent vocational counseling center. Furthermore, the pedagogists, psychologists and pediatricians working in the vocational counseling centers provide the social forces with most concrete aid in their vocational counseling activities. Through group and individual consultations the centers themselves affect the pupils' career search directly. Group consultation precedes individual consultation because it prepares the individual consultation. However, neither today nor in the future will it be possible and necessary to conduct individual consultations with all pupils. Especially those young people are individually counseled who have difficulties in deciding on their vocation. The more effective group consultation is, the smaller is the quantitative need for individual counseling. And that in turn means high-grade individual counseling is under less time pressure.

The vocational counseling centers have gained confidence and respect among the citizens in our republic by their work and also enjoy an international reputation. The higher demands placed on vocational counseling direct our attention to a main problem with the future work of the vocational counseling centers, however: charting as accurately as possible an optimum course, and the most beneficial input/output ratio in the cooperation among all social forces. Often procedures are too general and uniform and too repetitive. Offering less and coordinating it well, tailored to our scientific-technical progress and well grounded pedagogically and psychologically often means more than just a catalog of many individual measures. There are theoretical and practical catch-up demands for these problems here which can be met only through close cooperation between science and practice.

Visible advances in vocational counseling were made by incorporating our youth health protection and our industrial health affairs. A pamphlet was introduced, "Medical Pointers on Vocational Choice." For circa 150 skilled occupations there are industrial labor profesiograms available to all pediatricians and plant physicians. Greater efforts also are being made to provide detailed vocational choice aids for physically or psychologically disabled pupils.

Thus many different social forces are working together in the field of vocational counseling. The extensive aid given our young citizens at an age that is crucial for their personality development reflects the profoundly humanistic content of our socialist social order.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Comrade Erich Honecker, "Bericht des Zentralkomitees der SED an den IX. Parteitag der SED" (SED Central Committee Report to the Ninth SED Congress), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 101.
2. Cf. Guenther Bohring and Kurt Ducke, "Mensch und Beruf, Schriftenreihe Soziologie" (Man and His Occupation—Sociology Series), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1979, pp 122 ff.
3. Berthold Dietz, "Vocational Choice from the Psychological Aspect," "Beitraege zur Berufsberatung" (Contributions to Vocational Counseling), Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin, 1976, p 263.

4. Margot Honecker, "Der gesellschaftliche Auftrag unserer Schule" (The Social Function of Our Schools), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1978, p 60.
5. Cf. Anselm Siebel, "Possibilities and Limits in the Vocational Guidance for Older Pupils Under the Aspect of Combining the School and the Enterprise," *PAEDAGOGISCHE FORSCHUNG*, No 1, 1980, pp 104 ff.
6. "Decree on the State-owned Combines, Combine Enterprises and State-owned Enterprises," GBL, Part I, No 38, 1979, pp 360-361.
7. Cf. For a High-level Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolution in the Field of Vocational Training--Resolution by the SED Central Committee, the GDR Council of Ministers, the FDGB Federal Executive Board, and the FDJ Central Council, 7 December 1976," *NEUES DEUTSCHLAND*, 13 December 1976, p 3.
8. Authors' Collective, "Arbeitskollektiv und Berufsberatung" (Work Collective and Vocational Counseling), Tribuene publishing house, Berlin, 1979.
9. "Decree on Securing Firm Order at the General Education Polytechnical Secondary Schools--School Order," GBL, Part I, No 44, 1979, p 435.
10. Cf. Willi Kuhrt and Gerold Schneider, "Elternvertreter und Berufsberatung" (Parents' Councils and Vocational Counseling), Volk und Wissen publishing house, Berlin 1976.

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CSO: 2300

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

SED 'HISTORY COMMISSIONS' TO RESEARCH LOCAL WORKERS MOVEMENT

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 11 Sep 80  
pp 1043-1049

[Article by Dr Heinz Moritz, department chief, Institute for Marxism-Leninism, SED Central Committee: "History of Regional Workers Movement to Be Utilized Productively." A translation of the July-August 1980 EINHEIT article by Prof-Willibald Gutsche cited in footnote 2 is published under the heading, "Need for Intensified 'Homeland History' Study Discussed," in JPRS 76481, 24 Sep 80, No 1815, pp 103-111]

[Text] Especially in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress, the bezirk and kreis party managements and their history commissions have developed many initiatives for exploring regional history, particularly its most important parts--the history of the local workers movement and of enterprises--and conveying it in various ways to the working people. What importance is there in exploring and conveying the history of one's immediate working and living sphere for developing a socialist consciousness of history, and what experiences have been gained in doing so?

Our party, a section of the communist world movement, evolved from the more than 100 years of struggle of the revolutionary workers movement, has always preserved the revolutionary, progressive and humanistic traditions of the German people. These traditions find a firm home base in our socialist fatherland, are being cultivated and are extended at a higher level of social development. They have always been an important source of strength in our struggle. The SED therefore is the fully entitled, legitimate heir to everything progressive in the history of our people. That is fully corroborated by the developmental course and the work of our party. As SED General Secretary Comrade Erich Honecker has remarked, we shall "purposefully continue our work in that direction. It remains a basic concern in this productively to apply the history of our party and of our movement, our entire humanistic and democratic legacy, to the solution of the political tasks at present and in the future."<sup>1</sup>

Wholly in this sense there are, in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress, many ideas and initiatives for using more expediently in the party's ideological struggle also our regional history and especially its most important parts--the history of the local workers movement and of enterprises. And here the party organizations chiefly concentrate on exploring and propagating the struggle of the workers class and of its revolutionary party in any given area of responsibility. With it, many of them seek to analyze extensively the history of their bezirk, kreis, town or enterprise. Thereby they are making an important contribution to the further development of socialist consciousness, because the history of one's more immediate home area--the history of where one directly works and lives--is especially apt after all to contribute essentially to the shaping of a socialist consciousness of history.<sup>2</sup>

That also is indicated by the results achieved thus far in implementing the SED Central Committee secretariat resolutions on the history of the local workers movement<sup>3</sup> and on enterprise history.<sup>4</sup> This is what they confirm: many working people, mainly youths, from understanding their regional history arrive at more penetrating insights into historic inevitabilities, the problems of socialist construction and our class conflict with imperialism. Many working people's personal historic experiences are often closely tied to their immediate environment which they themselves help mold actively. Vividly and interestingly conveying to them the historic phenomena, processes and traditions of their own working and living sphere helps them more deeply understand the historic magnitude of the revolutionary transformations in our republic. Vividly presenting to them the history of their immediate home environment as an inseparable component of the birth and growth of our republic makes our working people still better realize that our party's firm bonds with the working class and the working people always have been, and are, the crucial source of strength on our complicated yet victorious path. Their will is challenged to follow the example of revolutionaries, and then they come to see more clearly: revolutionary conduct today means higher achievements to strengthen our socialist fatherland, especially in their own domain of work and life, and vigilantly protecting our socialist achievements all the time from the intrigues by aggressive imperialist circles. Our party managements in the bezirks, kreises and enterprises therefore are well advised in encouraging the rich initiatives of history commissions aimed at exploring enterprise and territorial events on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and propagating them in various forms that are interesting and produce empathy. They are a contribution, not to be underrated, to further molding our patriotic and internationalist manner of thinking and conduct and deepening our historic optimism, our certitude of victory.

#### Inseparable From the Struggle of the Entire Class

The doctrines of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, the SED Program, the party executive resolutions and documents, and the speeches by our SED Central Committee General Secretary and by other leading comrades furnish the basic orientation for the regional history activities of the party managements and their history commission. With growing success they endeavor, while proceeding from those theoretical principles, to explore the history of the local workers movement at a high substantive level and propagate it with a high sense of relevance.

SED history commissions are set up under 15 Bezirk Managements and 1 Regional Management, 260 Kreis Managements and City District Managements, and 1,636 Enterprise Party Managements.

An essential experience informs us that ideological cogency and efficacy depend on how well we succeed in always exploring and presenting historical phenomena and processes in the territories and enterprises in their various relations and interactions with the history of the national and international workers movement and with the course of history at large. In the real process of history the workers' struggle on a regional level is inseparable from the struggle of the entire class, the revolutionary activities of the party organizations forming an immediate component of the Marxist-Leninist work of the whole party.

The specific and concrete development of each enterprise and territory proceeds on the basis of general social developmental laws and is to a large extent shaped by national and international events. Simultaneously, each enterprise or territory actively affects the overall historic process. Constantly observing this dialectics, these connections in their interactions, is a fundamental ideological-theoretical and methodological principle of work in regional history. It must be accounted for in all its complexity and contradictoriness, this being a high theoretical and methodological requirement. As regional history constitutes a segment of the overall process of history, as it were, we at times encounter the tendency that particular phenomena are approached in isolation.

Such practices, contradicting the objective, dialectical course of history, are not apt to improve our understanding of regional historic events. Lenin resolutely opposed presenting facts detached from the whole, out of context, or picking up individual facts at will. For what matters, Lenin writes, "is the concrete historic situation that individual instances are related to. When taken in their totality, facts within their contexts are not only 'stubborn' but also absolutely conclusive matters. Yet if one deals with individual facts, detached from the whole, out of context, one merely juggles data or does something worse still."<sup>5</sup>

On the other hand, regional history must also not be oversimplified, conceived of as symbolic of party or national history or treated as attachment or illustration thereof. For instance, it would not be sufficient simply to take over or interpret basic evaluations from the works of the classic authors of Marxism-Leninism, from the party resolutions and documents or from the basic publications of GDR historiography. On the foundation laid there it is necessary concretely to research regional history and present it in its dialectical connection with the history of the party and of the German people.

Sound results are achieved when, based on the theoretical and methodological statements of dialectical and historic materialism, the effect of general social developmental laws, i.e., the actual course of history, is examined and presented in what is concretely and historically happening in the enterprises, towns, kreises and bezirks. Inestimable aids in this are such important publications as the SED history outline, the Thaelmann biography and the German history outline. The more we succeed in substantively and concretely presenting and integrating with the overall process of history the struggles and accomplishments of the workers class and its allies in the bezirks, kreises or enterprises, on the basis of the assessments in those documents, the more expedient will become our contribution to deepening our ideological realizations and insights through our historical knowledge about our immediate environment.

## The Heroic Workers Class Struggle Comes Alive

The history commissions in the bezirk and kreis managements and many SED enterprise party managements are making all-out efforts to describe in detail how the workers class under the leadership of its Marxist-Leninist party, is fulfilling its historic mission. By means of copious facts from sources tapped thus far, they are presenting in a receptive manner the struggle of the workers and their allies for over 100 years against capitalist exploitation and suppression, against imperialism, militarism and war, and for peace, democracy and socialism. This makes vivid the assault by Berlin workers on the eve of 14 June 1848 against the western gate of what was then the armory, to arm themselves against the counterrevolution (presented in the series on the history of the revolutionary workers movement in Berlin). It makes vivid the first organized strike by the Zwickau miners in July 1870 (documented in the contributions to the history of the Zwickau workers movement) or the successful struggle of the red sailors company in Leipzig in the November Revolution against counterrevolutionary troops at Leutzsch station in January 1919 (shown in the documents on the events during the German November Revolution in Leipzig), to adduce but a few examples.

Together with the committees of the antifascist resistance fighters, party history commissions are doing remarkable work exploring and propagating the history of the struggle against fascism in the bezirks, kreises, towns and enterprises. Many research results, be it in Berlin or Potsdam, in Jena or Frankfurt/Oder, in Lauchhammer or Neubrandenburg, document how the best of our people, workers together with members of other classes and strata, all headed by the communists, fought courageously against fascism and war. The efforts of those come alive who sacrificed all they had, their lives. So the history of the local workers movement here then provides the unambiguous evidence that the KPD ever since its founding was the most consistent fighter against monopoly capital and the danger of fascism and met its hardest test, unbroken and in honor, in its struggle against fascist dictatorship.

The history commissions are making special efforts to explore and portray the struggle of the workers class and its allies throughout the revolutionary process after 1945 and, above all, their accomplishments and achievements in the 1970's. Agitprop materials, exhibitions, tradition showcases and publications, such as the chronicle on the history of the workers movement in Thuringia or in Erfurt Bezirk, or the history of the workers movement in the Buna Chemical Works Combine, show under what complicated conditions after the destruction of Hitler fascism by the glorious Soviet Army activists of the first hour, together with liberators from Lenin's country, got our public life going again. Innumerable facts and events reveal what a united workers class, led by the Marxist-Leninist party, is capable of. Vivid accounts of the struggle and the transfer of the enterprises into public property, the formation of the activists' and competition movement and the establishing of the workers and peasants power reveal the new content of the workers movement more concretely.

Many activities aim at portraying the birth and growth of the GDR as the work of millions of workers and other working people. Among them are the chronicle on the activists' and competition movement in Karl-Marx-Stadt Bezirk, the contributions to the history of the city and the bezirk of Magdeburg, or the history of the working class militias in Potsdam Bezirk. It is being shown concretely how the people in

our country, with growing trust in our party policy, spurred on by the example of the communists, and acting in political awareness, made real what was then new and fought against the blockade, attempts at interference and other imperialist machinations.

The efforts and achievements of the workers and all working people, under Marxist-Leninist party leadership, and the activities of the trade unions, the FDJ and other mass organizations in the enterprises and territories make manifest the socialist revolution as a process of penetrating revolutionary changes in all domains of life, marked by heavy work and constant bitter class conflict with imperialism. It becomes clear how the working people are exercising their political power and are bringing socialist democracy to realization, and how the workers class stands up as the main productive force of society and keeps tightening its alliance relations, its comradely cooperation with the other classes and strata of our people. Thus all those party organizations are well advised that systematically tap the history of the regional workers movement and use it for regular, interesting work in historical ideology. This is the way in which many schools succeed in conveying a more substantive and vivid image of history. It has been found useful for young people to take an active part in the exploration of regional history through their "young historians" study groups or in other forms.

#### **More Attention for the History of the Party Organizations**

The history of the KPD Halle-Merseburg Bezirk organization presents us with a model publication showing us how the history of bezirk, kreis and enterprise organizations can be more expediently explored and presented. Providing facts rich in detail about the struggle of one of the strongest KPD bezirk organizations on a Marxist-Leninist basis, our revolutionary party traditions become fully alive in it. This conveys important lessons such as that the workers class can fulfill its historic responsibility and mission only when led by a Marxist-Leninist party, the decisive and inexhaustible source of strength of our party lies in its close contact with the working people, and the outcome of the struggle by a party organization greatly depends on its being able constantly to tighten its relationship of confidence with the masses.

Researching the history of regional party organizations provides a vivid picture on how party policy is being implemented in any given bezirk, kreis or enterprise. The many exemplary activities of the communists in spreading our world-outlook and mobilizing the masses and their often selfless dedication to the fulfillment of the party resolution appear as an enormous propulsive force. The more we succeed there in analyzing and demonstrating the activity of any given party organization and its share in the implementation of the party's overall policy in the various historic periods, the more visible becomes at once how the results in the struggle of an individual party organization have contributed to the further development of our party's strategy and tactics.

In studying regional history, the party organizations are more and more looking at the 1970's. The Eighth SED Congress initiated a new development phase in all domains of our public life. That was the decade when the results of our party's more than 100 years of struggle became most strikingly visible. Those were the years when we were struggling for implementing the main task in its unity between economic and social

policy under extremely complicated conditions. The advantages of socialism and its fundamental contrast with and historic distance from imperialism are coming into view ever more clearly. That is why we should give special support to the many activities which, in preparation for the Tenth Party Congress, aim at elaborating and publishing chronicles or survey materials about this most recent period in our history. They should be extended in years to come as basic and comprehensive research documents on the history of our party organizations, enterprises and territories in the 1970's.

This historic period touches immediately on the present and future of our struggle. Consequently, historic research provides direct statements on how the party program issued by the Ninth Party Congress is being implemented. Such investigations in the bezirks, kreises, towns and enterprises serve the party election assessments of the implementation of the SED's strategic concept of "ever more completely utilizing the advantages of socialism and insuring the superiority of the socialist social system particularly also under the conditions of international changes, including the economic field."<sup>6</sup> They effectively support the ideological preparations for the Tenth SED Congress.

#### **Fraternal Alliance With the Soviet Union Fortified by Many Acts**

Often the history of the regional workers movement convincingly proves how millions of workers and other working people in the enterprises and territories have developed our fraternal relations with the land of Lenin. Through knowing the historic roots of our fighting alliance with the Soviet people and the CPSU, the position taken on the Soviet Union becomes clear as the touchstone for being a real revolutionary, as Ernst Thaelmann has said. There are, for example, many working people in the Herbert Warnke VEB Combine in Erfurt who are proud that the workers in that enterprise worked on extensive orders for the Soviet Union in the 1920's and early 1930's, thereby aided socialist construction in the USSR, and preserved their jobs and livelihood even during the world economic crisis. On the initiative from KPD comrades, a group, "Friends of the Soviet Union," was formed even at that time.

Compelling are the facts from the history of the local workers movement that show how, when the socialist revolution advanced in our republic, our fraternal relations with the land of Lenin became more intimate all the time. Be it the help from Soviet citizens in military uniforms in the various domains of public life after the sacrificial victory against Hitler fascism, the support in the struggle against counterrevolutionaries or imperialist obstruction attempts, our socialist economic integration at present, all of it always expresses innumerable acts in the spirit of socialist internationalism.

There is, for instance, a publication by the Rostock Bezirk Management, "Ship Builders, Seamen and Port Workers Are Making History," that shows throughout how the revolutionary achievements and transformations in our coastal region are tied to proletarian internationalism and, mainly, to the growth of German-Soviet friendship. The vitality of the constantly more intimate friendship alliance is richly documented, from the response to the triumphant Great Socialist October Revolution and the collecting of tools under the slogan, "Help Soviet Russia," at Rostock's Neptun shipyards in 1921, to the act of liberation by the Soviet people and the help from the commanders and other members of the Soviet Army in the early postwar years, to

their unselfishly aiding us in the construction of our shipyard industry and merchant marine and the fraternal cooperation in all areas of our maritime economy.

Presentations of the historic development of partnership relations between Rostock Bezirk and the Latvian Soviet Socialist Republic, or between Frankfurt/Oder Bezirk and the Vitebsk Region and the Zielona Gora Voivodship, between Suhl Bezirk and the Kaluga Region, or between Dresden Bezirk and Leningrad, the Wroclaw Voivodship and Northern Moravia help buttressing the friendship with the Soviet Union, Poland, the CSSR and the other countries of the socialist community in the thoughts and actions of the people still more firmly. That also helped thwart designs by our enemies to undermine this historically grown alliance. The vivid proof of the birth and growth of German-Soviet friendship in the enterprises, towns, kreises and bezirks forms an important element in the struggle against anti-Sovietism.

#### Weapon in the Class Conflict

The history of the regional workers movement proves an effective weapon in the conflict with imperialist policy and reactionary bourgeois ideology. It will rise to this task all the more, the more concretely and impressively it succeeds in portraying the struggle of the workers class and its revolutionary party for peace, democracy and socialism and against the enemies of the working people right in the immediate working and experience sphere of the working people. The relevance to life and the fairly easy way in which the arguments can be checked out makes possible persuasively to disseminate the Marxist-Leninist world-outlook and to be ideologically aggressive.

Many working people, mainly the young ones, can then much better understand the class nature and criminal goals of imperialist demagogic and anticomunist agitation in the ideological warfare against socialism, such as the aggressive content in the lie of the threat from the East. Their enemy image takes on stronger contours when they find out how in their own home environment the workers class and its allies fought against imperialism and militarism for decades and how insidiously monopoly capital and its agents have sought to disturb socialist construction in our republic, meaning concretely then, in their enterprise or hometown.

Regional history also makes an effective contribution to the confrontation with the historic-political conceptions of the enemy. That concerns, among other things, its aggressive demasking of the kind of anticomunist lies by which the socialist revolution in the GDR is to be misrepresented as a revolution from the top, the GDR to be defamed as an antidemocratic, totalitarian state, or the close relationship of trust between the GDR people and the SED to be undermined. For instance, there the much overworked hostile thesis that the population in the GDR "cannot decisively participate in the shaping of its political circumstances"<sup>7</sup> is led ad absurdum by the proof of the conscious political actions by the workers and other working people in the territories and enterprises.

The history of the regional workers movement offers potentials for ideological confrontation that have not yet been fully utilized everywhere. Under the conditions of intensifying struggle with imperialism for settling such crucial questions as the preservation and safeguarding of peace, it is important, however, to tap and employ more extensively in it also the many data and facts from historical enterprise and

territorial occurrences. Regional history warrants a specific spot in the ideological struggle. The concrete historic facts speak for socialism and against imperialism, and this all the more strikingly the further social development advances.

It therefore is a high task for the party managements and their history commissions in preparation of the Tenth SED Congress to do more research on the history of the bezirk, kreis, town or enterprise and convey it so vividly and interestingly that it will still more effectively help deepen socialist consciousness and further mold the GDR citizens' love for their socialist fatherland and for their immediate work and home environment.

#### FOOTNOTES

1. Erich Honecker, "Die naechsten Aufgaben der Partei bei der weiteren Durchfuehrung der Beschluesse des IX. Parteitages der SED" (The Next Party Tasks in the Continued Implementation of the Ninth SED Congress Resolutions), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 89.
2. Cf. Willibald Gutsche, "Homeland Bonds and Homeland History in Our Society," EINHEIT, No 7/8, 1980, pp 813 ff.
3. Cf. "Guidelines for the Activity of the Research Commissions for the History of the Local Workers Movement at the SED Bezirk and Kreis Managements," NEUER WEG, No 16, 1973, pp 743 ff.
4. Cf. "Guidelines for the Research and Propagating of Enterprise History," NEUER WEG, No 14, 1977, pp 647 ff.
5. V. I. Lenin, "Statistics and Sociology," "Werke" (Works), Vol 23, Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1968, p 285.
6. Erich Honecker, "Das Beste zum X. Parteitag! Alles zum Wohle des Volkes! 12. Tagung des ZK der SED" (The Best for the Tenth Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People! Twelfth SED Central Committee Session), Dietz publishing house, Berlin, 1980, p 9.
7. FRANKFURTER RUNDSCHAU, 1 December 1978, p 11.

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## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

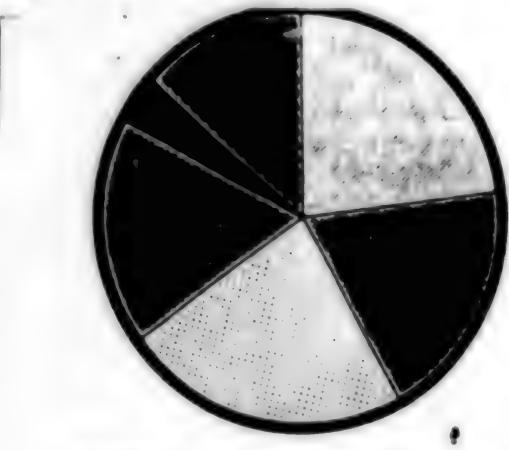
### PARTY ORGANIZATION FACTS AND FIGURES UPDATED

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 11 Sep 80 p 1021

[SED report: "Our Party: Facts and Figures"]

[Text] The SED is the conscious and organized vanguard of the workers class and the working people of the socialist GDR. It has 2,130,671 members and candidates at present who are organized in 77,682 basic organizations, of which 22,152 are departmental party organizations.

#### Age Distribution



below 31	23.1%
31 to 40	19.1%
41 to 50	22.9%
51 to 60	17.8%
61 to 65	3.9%
above 65	13.2%

One out of six GDR citizens above 18 is SED member or candidate.

As to their social origin, circa 73 percent of the members and candidates comes from the working class.

32.8 percent of the party members and candidates are women.

Since the ninth party congress, 3,100 basic organizations, 1,129 departmental party organizations and 3,500 party groups were newly founded.

The highest proportion of workers in the ranks of the SED since the party was founded has now been obtained (56.9 percent)

#### Social Composition



Workers	56.9%
Cooperative Farmers	4.7%
Intelligentsia	21.7%
Employees	9.9%
Others	6.8%

More than 260,000 of the best workers have been admitted as candidates to the party since the ninth party congress. Almost 200,000 of them are workers with 88 percent of them below 30 years of age.

#### Educational Levels of Members and Candidates



University, technical	30.6%
Party school	33.7%
of them party college	0.6%
bezirk school	5.1%
3 to 11 month courses	27.6%

GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

LISTINGS, SUMMARIES OF OTHER MAJOR 'EINHEIT' ARTICLES

The Topic: Toward the Tenth Party Congress

East Berlin EINHEIT in German Vol 35 No 10, Oct 80 signed to press 11 Sep 80  
'Resumes' addendum

[Text] "The Topic" is to contribute to the immediate preparations for the party elections. In order to achieve the best for the welfare of the people by the Tenth Party Congress, the fighting power of the party organizations must be strengthened; the Communists' united, unanimous action promoted; their bonds with the masses intensified; thus to enhance the leading role of our party. A wealth of experience aids in this effort:

"Our Party--With the People, for the People" (pp 991-997), by Ernst Timm, member, SED Central Committee; first secretary, SED Rostock Bezirk Management. [PLEASE NOTE: A West German commentary on this article is inserted below "The Topic" listing]

"In Alliance With All Forces of the People" (pp 999-1003), by Werner Kirchhoff, graduate historian, candidate member, SED Central Committee; vice president National Council, GDR National Front.

"Communists at the Head of the Struggle for Increased Efficiency" (pp 1004-1010), by Rolf Jobst, graduate social scientist, secretary for economic policy, SED Gera Bezirk Management.

"In Competition for Higher Agricultural Yields" (pp 1011-1016), by Hans Nieswand, graduate social scientist, secretary, SED Potsdam Bezirk Management; and Eckhard Otto, agricultural engineer, secretary, SED Basic Organization, Wulfersdorf Agricultural Producer Cooperative (Crop Production) [LPG (P)].

"Workday Proving Ground" (pp 1017-1020), by Edgar Aurich, engineer; and Herbert Eike, graduate social scientist, party organizer, SED Central Committee; deputy secretary and secretary, respectively, SED enterprise organization, VEB Pritz Heckert Machine-tool Combine, Karl-Marx-Stadt.

#### West German Commentary on Ernst Tisse Article

Bonn IWR-TAGESDIENST in German No 150, 3 Oct 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Considers Its Economic Course the 'Only Correct One'"]

[Excerpt] The theoretical SED journal EINHEIT (No 10, 1980) has called the party's economic and social policy during the past years the "only correct" course. It had conformed to the concrete-historic developmental conditions and the requirements of the GDR and had been perceived by the citizens as one of "mass solidarity, as a workers policy." The "historic distinction" of the party leadership had been that it had, with prudence and consideration, determined the correct course, maintained it even under complicated, changing conditions and, "by mobilizing all the people, coped with it for the people's benefit."

#### Top Performance Requires Purposeful Patent Rights Work--Experiences in the VEB Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena

[Summary of article by Hans Kuegler, engineer, director, Patent Rights Office, VEB Carl Zeiss Combine, Jena; and Prof Dr Klaus Muetze, engineer, director of the combine's Research Center; pp 1030-1034. A translation of this article is published under the heading, "Management to Be Responsible for Improved Patent Rights System," in a recent JPRS issue of EAST EUROPE REPORT: ECONOMIC AND INDUSTRIAL AFFAIRS]

[Text] Inventions crucially control the degree of novelty and the use value of the products, represent the status of development in science and technology, and affect the developmental level of industrial production. An essential management task amounts to promoting invention efforts and, with it, protecting their results in accordance with legal principles. The authors are reporting on how, through various measures, invention activities are purposefully directed and stimulated. Experiences with patent rights work are presented, and necessary conclusions are drawn from them.

#### Dynamic Development of USSR Agriculture

[Summary of article by Dr Erich Holz, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 1050-1057]

[Text] The successful implementation of the Leninist cooperative plan in the Soviet Union demonstrates requirements and possibilities of the socialist transformation of agriculture in the interest of the popular

manns. Attempts by bourgeois opinion molders at discrediting Soviet agriculture as an "inefficient system" founder on the facts of its dynamic development. Under the leadership of the CPSU, which is explaining the great efforts that still have to be made for further enhancing that efficiency, USSR agriculture is fulfilling its tasks in communist construction better and better.

#### 'Democratic Socialism' and National Liberation Movement

[Summary of article by Dr Harry Klug, political researcher, SED Central Committee; pp 1058-1067. A West German commentary on this EINHEIT article is inserted below this summary]

[Text] In reaction to the deepening social content of the national liberation movement, social-reformist ideologues seek to give substance to the "opening of democratic socialism" vis-a-vis that movement. Proceeding from an interpretation of underdevelopment that is indifferent to class concepts, they propagate the ideas of "democratic socialism" on "solving the social problem of the 19th century" as a basic model for the developing countries. Its renouncing any alternative for capitalism expresses itself in focusing on the capitalist course of development in the young national states, which deeply contradicts the vital interests of the peoples.

#### West German Commentary on Harry Klug Article

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 151, 6 Oct 80 p 2

[Report from Berlin: "SED Attacks Activities of Socialist International in Developing Countries"]

[Text] The recently increased efforts made by the Socialist International in gaining more of an influence on political and economic development in the third world have been excoriated by the SED organ EINHEIT (No 10, 1980). Mainly authoritative SPD ideologues were trying more than before to pass off "democratic socialism" as an alternative for exploitation, hunger and oppression in the developing countries. The young national states were being pushed onto the "capitalist course of development," though sufficient experiences were there to show that course to be deeply contradictory to the vital interests of those peoples. If ideologues of democratic socialism, EINHEIT continues, wanted to tie economic growth in the developing countries up with the satisfaction of basic needs for food, housing, clothes, health and educational institutions, it was merely a matter of making pronouncements. How such a conception was to be brought to realization, "in view of the large monopolies' unrestrained practice of exploitation and looting," was something about which nothing was said or only platitudes were being proposed.

## GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

### SED ISSUES GUIDELINES FOR MORE EFFECTIVE WORKERS CONTROL GROUPS

#### West German Commentary

Bonn IWE-TAGESDIENST in German No 171, 14 Nov 80 p 1

[Report from Berlin: "People's Controllers To Expose Deficiencies 'in a Timely Manner.'" A translation of the SED resolution cited below follows this commentary]

[Text] The GDR's so-called Worker and Peasant Inspectorate (ABI) is to boost its control activities in the economy and "in a timely manner" expose causes of deficiencies and provide for the necessary changes. That is proposed by an SED Central Committee secretariat resolution now published. "Greater importance" is to be attributed to controlling the implementation of the party resolutions in the economy, the SED executive guideline says. Mainly ABI controls are to be concentrated on a strict fulfillment of the state plans and on those questions that are decisive for smoothly carrying on the economic and social policy. At the same time they should have to turn to the "various questions of daily life" and, in particular, deal with concerns of importance to the citizens, such as insuring supplies. To proposals, suggestions and criticism from the working people, the people's controllers should "react attentively, check them carefully, and see that they be resolved." Nowhere should they tolerate that functionaries "show indifference to the concerns of the citizens."

The resolution furthermore demands that "party influence" be increased in the Workers and Peasants Inspectorate. The chairmen of the so-called people's control commissions or their deputies should come out of the competent party managements. As people's controllers citizens should be chosen "who perform exemplary work on their jobs, enjoy trust among the citizens, and distinguish themselves through their deep solidarity with our socialist state" (NEUER WEG, No 21, 1980).

#### SED Central Committee Resolution

East Berlin NEUER WEG in German Vol 35 No 21, 1980 signed to press 30 Oct 80, pp 827-829.

[Excerpts from 1 October 1980 Resolution of SED Central Committee Secretariat: "Statement by Central Committee Secretariat on the Report by the SED Fuerstenwalde Kreis Management Concerning Experiences in the Political Guidance of Organs of the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate (ABI)"]

[Text] "The Best for the Tenth Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!" That is the slogan under which the working people in Fuerstenwalde Kreis accomplish high achievements for the all-round strengthening of our socialist state. The 1980 economic plan quotas have been fulfilled, and overfulfilled in some important respects. The results and initiatives reflect the working people's unshakable trust in SED policy and in the Central Committee and its General Secretary, Comrade Erich Honecker. They are a concrete contribution by the workers, cooperative farmers, the intelligentsia and all working people in Fuerstenwalde Kreis to the needed increase in our economic efficiency.

The organs of the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate with its circa 1,300 volunteer people's controllers have a prominent share in the positive results in the kreis.

Led by kreis management and its secretariat, ABI has exposed and made effective for the plan many reserves for higher and more efficient production, affected the improvement of the state and economic organs' management activity, and helped draw general inferences from good experiences, eliminate inadequacies and strengthen order and discipline.

Fuerstenwalde Kreis Management has succeeded in the years since the Ninth SED Congress in activating the work of the ABI and further enhancing its effectiveness in the tasks to be solved in the kreis. It became an active party helper in Fuerstenwalde Kreis.

The Central Committee Secretariat appreciates this activity and thanks all volunteer forces of the ABI in the kreis for their diligent work in implementation of the party resolutions. The SED Central Committee Secretariat recommends to the Fuerstenwalde Kreis Management to address the following tasks in further developing and furthering the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate:

(1) The growing demands on a complex realization of the taxing tasks in our economic plans call for attaching greater importance to controlling the implementation of the party resolutions. Proceeding from the SED Central Committee and GDR Council of Ministers resolution of 6 August 1974 on the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate, the management activity of Fuerstenwalde Kreis Management therefore is to be aimed at steadily raising the level of ABI controls and continuing a stronger party influence in its organs in every way. Controls are to be aimed above all at a strict fulfillment of the state plans and at those questions that are decisive for our needed high dynamic economic growth as the key issue for smoothly carrying on with our united economic and social policy.

The qualitative factors of socialist intensification must more strongly still be placed under controls. First and foremost, a steep rise in labor productivity must be insured by means of science and technology, and important economic values have to be uncovered and tapped through the controls on our basic assets and materials economy, our investment activity, on the rational use of our social labor capacity, and on the use of our soil.

Based on the resolutions of the Central Committee, the ABI control plan, and the priorities for social development existing in the kreis, the kreis management secretariat issues the semiannual control plan to the ABI kreis committee. The management of the basic organization bring their influence to bear on keeping the

control tasks for the volunteer controllers of the ABI more or less connected with their occupational work and keeping them intelligible.

What is important is to prepare the controls thoroughly and bring them to conclusion, expose causes for deficiencies in a timely manner and enforce changes.

A first-rate political task of the kreis management secretariat is to orient the ABI to uncovering good experiences, exemplary initiatives, and reserves for fulfilling and overfulfilling the plan and to help more consistently in their mandatory application or use at the whole range. That is part of any control and a duty of each controller.

Kreis management must pay special attention to those ABI commissions in the combine enterprises that handle the decisive share of economic performance in the kreis. The party organizers of the Central Committee also bear responsibility for enhancing the effectiveness of the commissions in the combine enterprises and of the ABI inspectorates in the combines. They see to it that the ABI comrades in the entire combine are uniformly informed about the combine's economic requirements and the focal points in political-ideological work and are oriented to major control emphases. It is the responsibility of the party organizer to deal with the control emphases and results in the party secretaries' council.

The ABI's combine inspectorates inform the bezirk and kreis committees of the ABI about the control emphases and results centrally assigned to the combine. The Central Committee guideline that the chairmen of the commissions and the people's control commissions or their deputies should be members of the competent party management must be rigorously enforced.

(2) It is characteristic of ABI activity that it will address itself to the various questions of daily life. For that reason the people's control commissions are to be oriented especially to controlling matters that are of importance to the citizens. They would include the normal functioning of service facilities, carrying out regular repairs and periodic maintenance measures in apartments, observing the opening and closing hours of stores, insuring the commodity supply in basic needs, enforcing municipal and communal regulations, and health care for the working people.

The commissions and people's control commissions must be receptive to recommendations, suggestions or criticism from the working people, check them carefully, and provide for their clarification. There must be no enterprise, no town or community, where the ABI would tolerate that the responsible managers are indifferent to the citizens' concerns. Through that activity the ABI contributes to the further consolidation of trust all citizens place in our party and our socialist state.

(3) Kreis management is advised to assist the ABI organs still more when they in their controls expose the actual causes for a still inadequate utilization of reserves or for inadequacies in the implementation of resolutions.

Kreis management has the task regularly to control how well confirmed control tasks are fulfilled by the ABI kreis committee and the suggestions and assignments contained in the control reports for establishing state order, discipline and legality

are resolutely implemented through full party authority by the state and economic managers. Control results are an important instrument for kreis management toward rigorously implementing the party resolutions.

Basic organization managements bear a special responsibility in this. They must effectively support the commissions and people's control commissions in the political-ideological debates on implementing the inferences drawn from control results.

(4) Kreis management must still better enable, politically and ideologically, the ABI organs to make an effective contribution to maintaining and enforcing socialist legality, insuring order and discipline, and protecting socialist property. It is important that kreis management demands of the ABI that its functionaries are in a timely manner be made aware of inadequacies. The ABI has the obligation rigorously to apply the rights assigned to it.

That presupposes high-grade controls and requires that the ABI controllers are made more familiar, through briefings, with the legal norms needed for the control activity.

Kreis management should continue to assist firmly the ABI kreis committee in the selection and assignment of volunteer management functionaries in its inspectorates and departments.

Here it will make sure that communists and unaffiliated citizens are chosen for the commissions and people's control commissions who do exemplary work on their jobs, enjoy the confidence of the citizens and distinguish themselves through their deep solidarity with our socialist state. Kreis management brings its influence to bear on exempting volunteer ABI functionaries, especially the management functionaries, from any other public functions, if possible, so that they can fulfill this important party mission.

(5) Kreis management should continue in insuring the close liaison of ABI organs with the people's representations, the FDGB's workers controllers, the FDJ control posts and the National Front commissions. Such good methods of preparing, conducting and analyzing controls jointly with permanent commissions of the people's representations and deputies, and of treating control results in the conferences of the people's representatives, have proven themselves. One should make sure that ABI members more frequently appear at the conferences of the peoples' representations and report on control results and necessary changes. The practice of the Fuerstenwalde Kreis Council of dealing with kreis committee control reports in the council sessions and drawing conclusions from them is something the kreis management ought to continue promoting in the future.

This working procedure has positive effects on improving the quality of state management. And there are still other educationally effective forms of work that should more purposefully be used such as dealing with control results in front of work collectives and in the residential areas, status reports by competent managers on measures introduced to get control results, a vital handling of wall newspapers, and an analysis of selected controls in the plant newspapers and radios and in the daily press.

## Experiences of Local Inspectorate

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 80 p 3

[Article by Horst Heiser, first secretary, SED Fuerstenwalde Kreis Management: "ABI Controls Show the Way to Higher Performance--Organs of the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate Are Active Helpers of the Party"]

[Text] The Worker and Peasant Inspectorate (ABI) is the most comprehensive state and social control organ in the GDR. Under working class party leadership, it combines the state and social control of the workers, cooperative farmers and all other working people as a form of socialist democracy.

In our Fuerstenwalde Kreis, 1,300 volunteer ABI associates are working on 121 commissions and people's control commissions under instructions and with the support from kreis management, the party managements of the basic organizations and the local party managements. ABI organs have a great share in the successes of the workers class in our kreis under the competition slogan, "The Best for the Tenth Party Congress! Everything for the Good of the People!" They are active helpers of the party and state organs in enforcing strict state discipline and strengthening socialist legality. They help expose reserves and use them in production.

### Constructive Contribution in the Energy Sector

The more than 2 days of lead time in our plan achieved thus far by our working people also is a result of rigorous social controls. Fuerstenwalde Kreis has to supply our republic with truck and bus tires, cement and concrete products, chemical and tank installations, cast iron and basic synthetics, dyes, furniture and soldering irons, and animal and crop production commodities. Kreis management, therefore, directs ABI controls at problems that are central to the basic organizations in their implementing our economic tasks.

This became especially apparent in the mass controls on the materials economy and the thrifty and expedient use of energy sources and in the controls on uncovering performance reserves in locally managed construction, the expedient use of agricultural acreage, breeding improvements in animal production, and improving the order and safety in wholesale company storage facilities.

An example of the constructive contribution by ABI organs to our economic performance improvement is the control on rational energy consumption in 30 enterprises and six communities. That involved 345 volunteer ABI associates, FDGB worker controllers and members of the FDJ control posts. They found that an economical use of energy has become regular procedure in socialist competition. Many enterprises and cooperatives have boosted their output considerably in comparison with last year while using less energy. In the Fuerstenwalde tire combine, for instance, industrial commodity production is rising by 3.1 percent while energy consumption is dropping by 1 percent.

Such results are achieved when the work collectives are convinced that in view of their economic tasks they must absolutely waste no energy and when socialist rationalization opens up new possibilities for more thrifty consumption. Thus, in the

first half of 1980, our kreis saved 1,460 megawatt hours in electrical energy, 15,000 cubic meters of gas, 1,200 tons of soft coal briquettes, 840 tons of rough lignite and 210 tons of refined hard coal.

Of the 16 enterprises checked, twelve could prove that the measures assigned were implemented through work carried out on a planned basis with the innovators. At the VEB Chemical and Tank Installation Construction Plant in Fuerstenwalde, 21 innovator recommendations were implemented on rational energy consumption alone. In the past, an energy guzzling infrared furnace was used for dye drying in small container construction. Now a dye is used that is air-dried. That saves 152,384 kilowatt hours of energy annually.

#### Volunteer Work Highly Important

The insights gained through these controls and their thorough analysis have helped the kreis management secretariat and the party managements of the basic organizations in making important management decisions. Proceeding from the SED Central Committee and GDR Council of Ministers resolution of 6 August 1974 on the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate, we have been aiming our management activity at constantly improving the outcome of ABI controls. We thus pay special attention to a correct selection of volunteer ABI functionaries, mainly class-conscious workers, to systematic training for them and doing political work with them. The results of the energy control were so good because the controllers know exactly that our economic growth is taking place while our raw material and fuel volume remains the same or rises but insignificantly. The controllers were in the position to assess the great importance of their work themselves because the party equipped them with the proper arguments.

There is still another side to it that we are looking at most attentively. Controls, as one knows, are volunteer activities. And that precisely is why kreis management pays attention to the comrades and colleagues who devote their knowledge, skills and leisure to this important social task. We treat them with confidence and show them how much we appreciate their work. Such an attitude provided for great stability in the work of the control organs. It conforms with the basic concern of the party elections that the departmental party organizations and the basic organizations also deliberate on further strengthening socialist legality and on order and discipline. That also includes assessments of the work of the comrades and of other working people working in the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate organs and that the measures that become necessary after the ABI controls are enforced with all the strength the party has.

#### What Always Matters Is the Good of the People

Through the control organs' cooperation with state managers and work collectives important economic results are achieved and good production experiences are publicized. To give an example: The chairman of the departmental ABI commission, master workman Helmut Engel, the plumber and worker controller Manfred Specht, and the installation operator and FDJ control post member Hans-Joachim Krueger helped the radial department of the tire plant to boost its industrial output to 111.2 percent and its labor productivity to 111.8 percent. With it, the steam

consumption dropped from 3.19 to 3.10 tons and the electrical energy consumption from 540 kilowatt hours to 527 kilowatt hours per ton of output weight. These comrades know what matters is to achieve a high output through the least possible input. That is why they directed their control activity at those matters.

Comradely talks and passing on experiences in a friendly manner are as much part of the ABI's working style as is unwavering determination when one has to come to grips with an unsatisfactory implementation of laws and resolutions. In such a case the ABI commands important rights like injunctions and disciplinary fine procedures and their public airing. It also can demand that a manager take disciplinary measures. Kreis management always reminds the ABI comrades of the variety of means available to them.

But not only production is what the ABI controls. It cares as much for the living conditions in the towns and communities. Public hints often become the point of departure for it. Thus the people's control commission of downtown Fuerstenwalde, headed by its chairman Franz Karpinski, checked stores and restaurants. Violations of retail trade regulations were ascertained. A private butcher, the manager of a consumer goods sales outlet, and the manager of a retail restaurant were called to account. The commission thereby assisted the local state organs in their responsibility of insuring the stability of public supplies.

This commission all by itself conducted 12 controls on so-called ordinary problems. Thanks to its activity and determination, it enjoys respect from the citizens, which is indicated by their growing readiness to join the commission's work.

Similar accomplishments are reported by the people's control commissions in the communities of Bad Saarow, Ruedersdorf, Erkner and Schoeneiche. They are closely working together with the permanent commissions of their people's representations. Kreis management sees to it that the controls by the inspectorates of the kreis committee and the work of the enterprise commissions and the people's control commissions are expertly aided by the kreis council, its specialized organs, and the communal councils and the results are thoroughly analyzed.

This is what our experiences tell us: in being oriented to the performance requirements of our economy and the everyday concerns of people, the ABI control collectives assist in implementing the main task in its unity of economic and social policy.

#### Worker-Peasant Inspectorate Statistics

East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND in German 19 Nov 80 p 3

[Unattributed report: "The ABI in Figures"]

[Text] The Worker and Peasant Inspectorate organs have almost 233,000 volunteer members at present. They include 137,000 working people on the 17,900 commissions in enterprises, cooperatives and facilities; more than 52,500 citizens on the 6,300 people's control commissions in the towns, communities and residential areas; 39,500 members and volunteer members of the ABI committees in bezirks, kreises, cities and city districts; and 3,700 volunteer associates in combine inspectorates.

Some 53 percent of the working people chosen for the ABI organs is made up of workers and cooperative farmers, 57 percent of them being SED members.

The ABI organs furthermore work together with more than 100,000 worker controllers of the FDGB and 40,000 FDJ control posts.

In 1980, the Worker and Peasant Inspectorate conducted some extensive controls to help tap reserves for further economic performance improvements. Some results of them were as follows:

Construction: Order and discipline checks were made in 739 enterprises and building sites. They uncovered reserves in construction material and equipment at a value of more than M 35 million which were put to use, including 3,000 tons of steel and 8,000 tons of cement. Some 8,600 tons of scrap were provided over and above state quotas by it.

Agriculture: Some 33,000 volunteers, including trade union worker controllers and FDJ control posts, checked 177 rural districts and 4,414 towns and communities, 1,673 agricultural enterprises and 701 investment projects on their making a proper use of the soil. Some 24,418 hectares of "allow or unsuitably used acreage were put to use.

Consumer goods: There were 2,891 deputies, ABI associates and FDGB members who checked the consumer goods production in Magdeburg Bezirk. In this, general rules for good examples and methods were applied and a production reserve at a scope of approximately M 4.3 million was discovered.

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GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

**BLOC POLITICS TOWARD THIRD WORLD DEFENDED**

East Berlin HORIZONT in German Vol 13 No 43, 1980 signed to press 20 Oct 80 pp 8-9

[Contribution by Dr Guenther Kuehne to a series of articles on "Basic Problems of the Revolutionary World Process": "A Force Which Can Do Much--Our Active Solidarity With the Struggle of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America for National and Social Liberation"]

[Text] With this contribution HORIZONT continues the publication of a series of articles which is to provide additional information for the propagandists and participants in the Party Apprenticeship Seminars "On the Study of Basic Problems of the Revolutionary World Process" (4th year). The following contribution is intended to supplement the seminar on topic 2, "The Place and Role of the National and Social Revolutions of Liberation of the Peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The Significance of the Anti-imperialistic Alliance Between the Socialist World System and National Liberation Movements."

The national and social struggle for liberation in the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America is an increasingly important part of the worldwide revolutionary process. The imperialist colonial system has collapsed almost completely and irrevocably. An unrelenting, bitter struggle is being waged to eliminate the existing remnants of colonialism and to overcome apartheid in Africa's south. The decades of successful struggle by the formerly oppressed and dependent nations have contributed significantly in shaping the fact of our epoch of transition from capitalism to socialism. The results of the national liberation struggle have brought about significant changes in the international balance of power in favor of those fighting for peace, democracy and social progress. This was and is synonymous with serious losses and defeats for imperialism.

In its historical importance the breakup of the colonial system is the most important phenomenon since the creation of the socialist world system. After World War II, 85 new sovereign states were created in the former colonial areas, 70 of them in Asia and Africa alone, with a population of 1.5 billion people. About 65 percent of the world's population now lives in the liberated countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. The program adopted at the 11th SED Conference states: "The liberated nations and those fighting for their liberation are a powerful anti-imperialistic and revolutionary force in our time."

### Basic Principle of Internationalism

Common interests in important basic questions about the development of humanity link these countries with the states of the socialist community and with the international workers' movement. They are united by their common struggle against imperialism, neocolonialism and racism. They are allied in the most important question of the present--the struggle to ensure lasting and stable world peace. They hold similar positions in the struggle to end the arms race, and they are for arms limitations and disarmament--key questions in ensuring peace. That also affects their demand for a democratic form of international trade relations on a just and equitable basis.

The liberated countries face problems of truly historical dimensions and import in the present stage of their development. Now that these countries have won their national sovereignty, following struggles often involving great sacrifice, they must be protected from the attacks of imperialistic and counter-revolutionary forces. Detente in international relations, which became a reality in the 1970s due to the active efforts for peace by socialist countries and other democratic and peaceloving forces, has had a favorable effect on the progress of national liberation movements. The shift in the international balance of power, particularly the political, economic and military potential of real socialism, has also revealed new perspectives for development to the young states. As our socialist GDR became stronger, we are, as Erich Honecker emphasized in his speech on 13 October in Gera, "participating actively in further changing the world in the sign of peace, of national and social liberation, of the struggle against imperialism, in the sign of socialism and communism."

The solidarity of the socialist states based on the principles of proletarian internationalism is directed at those movements and forces which have emerged in the struggle against imperialist exploitation and suppression and which are for the revolutionary renewal of the world. Starting with their own potential, its purpose is to help them to achieve their planned objectives, which are ours as well, in the historically shortest possible time. Karl Marx described this solidarity as the basic principle of internationalism.

### Solidarity in Manifold Forms

The solidarity of the socialist countries with the nations of Asia, Africa and Latin America takes on a multiplicity of forms. It ranges from principally political-moral support to highly diversified material assistance. Solidarity in the broadest sense of the word is based on a sense of alliance, mutual support and agreement about goals. It includes the willingness to help and make sacrifices. Being united in solidarity with someone means standing up for each other and taking common responsibility. Solidarity marked by such characteristics can do much.

The solidary assistance of socialist states to liberated countries, whether it is developing a national economy, educating cadres, delivering urgently needed goods, including arms shipments, or the dispatch of troop contingents as in the case of Cuba to Angola or the Soviet Union in Afghanistan, has the sole purpose of helping to protect the national sovereignty of these countries. If socialist states lend active assistance at the urging and request of these countries it is an act of international solidarity. It has nothing to do with "exporting the revolution," as bourgeois

ideologues never tire of claiming, nor does it conflict with the socialist states' logical pursuit of the policy of detente and peace. "Fanning" the revolution from outside is foreign to the theory of Marxism-Leninism and the policies of communist parties. Revolutions gradually mature and break out as a consequence of the effects of inner laws of social development in countries with antagonistic class contrasts. External conditions can further the development of the revolutionary process in a country or hamper it. To demand from socialist states the renunciation of solidarity as the "price" of detente would mean requiring of them the surrender of their class positions in the common struggle against imperialism. They will never agree to such a demand. Firstly, active assistance of this kind is not in conflict with peaceful coexistence. Secondly, socialist countries will never abandon their class brothers, their allies in the common fight. Continuation of detente means and demands, therefore, decisive opposition to both expansionist and hegemonist ambitions toward the liberated peoples--if necessary with the help of the socialist states. Areas of conflict created by imperialistic striving for supremacy, the aggravation of tensions between states, these limit the possibilities of an unhampered progressive development in the countries affected and endanger world peace. Under the conditions of detente the just claims and aspirations of the peoples of Asia, Africa and Latin America can be realized more easily and with less sacrifice.

#### Burdensome Colonial Heritage

At the center of the liberated countries' fight is the struggle for economic independence from imperialism, particularly from the transnational monopolies. The heritage of colonialism weighs heavily on the young countries. They are suffering the consequences of economic backwardness--a result of the unscrupulous policies of their former colonial masters. Famine, ignorance, disease, unemployment--these are acute phenomena in many emerging nations. The majority of them are still linked by many ties with the capitalist world economy. Imperialism is attempting to maintain this dependence through neocolonialist methods and to strengthen it wherever possible in order to halt the social struggle for liberation in these countries, to keep them in subservience and to force them onto a capitalist path of development.

So-called aid to developing countries from the imperialist states and monopolies serves this end. In reality it is not aid to overcome backwardness rapidly, but a source of high profits. As a rule monopolies "earn" twice what they invest in developing countries. It is a direct consequence of imperialist aid for development that Third World countries' debts are increasing each year and reached the astronomical total of \$250 billion at the end of 1977. The recruitment of qualified workers and scientific cadres is one of the neocolonialist practices of the imperialist states. In the period between 1961 and 1976 the United States, Canada and Great Britain recruited almost 61,000 physicians, over 100,000 engineers and scientists and 123,000 technicians and other skilled workers from developing countries. That exceeds the sum spent by the imperialist states in development and the practice is being continued.

#### For Fundamental Changes

In complete contrast, the policy of the socialist states toward the emerging nations is intended to make progressive development possible, to assure their national sovereignty, to free them from neocolonialist exploitation and to achieve economic independence.

It will be impossible to achieve these goals without fundamental socioeconomic changes. This will require the help, assistance and active solidarity of the socialist states and of all progressive forces.

The assistance of the socialist states to the emerging nations has nothing to do with reparations because they bear no responsibility for the injustice perpetrated on these peoples. For this reason the socialist countries cannot acquiesce in the demand that is occasionally raised for the "equal responsibility of the industrially developed nations" in changing the situation in these countries. The responsibility for the economic backwardness that has come about in the emerging nations lies solely with imperialism and the colonial policy that it pursued. For centuries this system plundered these countries and piled up billion in profits. Imperialism must make restitution for the injustice it committed.

Solidarity with the national liberation movement, with the peoples' fight for national and social liberation is an inalienable characteristic and part of the international politics of communist parties and socialist states that cannot be forfeited.

Since the beginning of the GDR's existence to nations that are fighting for their national sovereignty and an equal position in international relations, for economic independence from imperialism and for social progress. This solidarity, actively supported by millions of our citizens, is acknowledged worldwide. It was once again impressively confirmed on the occasion of the visit of the president of the Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo), Samora Moises Machel, to the GDR in mid-September this year. Our guests' words expressed his deep appreciation when he said that he felt at home in the GDR "thanks to the concrete expression of combative solidarity from the people, the SED and the government of the GDR." He characterized the meeting and the discussions with our party and state leadership as "a meeting of brothers-in-arms, an exchange of experience, a meeting of forces that daily experience the importance and value of solidarity for their existence."

The history of the freedom fight of the workers knows thousands of examples of active and successful solidarity. The importance of international solidarity among anti-imperialist forces and its necessity is increasing under present conditions of intensified international class conflict, when the most reactionary imperialist forces have aligned themselves in complicity with the leaders in Beijing for a counteroffensive against everything that is revolutionary and progressive and are seriously threatening world peace with their policy of confrontation.

In common with the emerging nations the socialist states are demanding a new form of international economic relations on a just and equitable basis. Economic relations between the socialist states and the emerging nations are free of discrimination and attempts to gain a unilateral advantage. Socialist aid to developing countries is fundamentally different from the practices of neocolonialist politics.

These peoples will never forget, as Erich Honecker stressed in his Gera speech, "that it was the power and strength of the Soviet Union that . . . gave the national liberation movement the chance to destroy the imperialist colonial system."

Active political and material assistance from the socialist states, trade exchange, scientific-technical cooperation--all this helps the nationally liberated countries to develop an independent national economy.

Member states of CMEA have granted emerging nations credit in the amount of R 15 billion. By 1978, the USSR had concluded agreements for the construction of 447 industrial plants in developing countries, of which 250 have already been completed. CMEA member nations have supported the construction of 2,480 industrial and other economic facilities in developing countries. Since 1970, the GDR has built more than 650 facilities in developing countries. The facilities erected with the assistance of socialist states are the national property of the countries in question. This too demonstrates a fundamental difference from the capital investment of monopolies which consider such investment permanent sources of profit!

In the area of educating cadres from developing nations, the socialist states' performance is widely recognized and represents genuine assistance in social expansion. In the GDR alone since 1970, about 39,000 citizens from developing countries have received additional job training or education. In this time, about 10,000 citizens from these countries completed their university or technical education in the GDR. We must not forget another 55,000 citizens who were trained or received further training from experts from the GDR in their native countries during this period from 1970 to 1979. If one summarizes all the assistance contributed by the states of the socialist community and by the solidarity donations of the workers to the developing nations, it becomes clear what active solidarity means in actuality.

The GDR, like the other socialist states, is united in solidarity with the fight of the Palestinian people to realize its inalienable right to sovereignty and self-determination, including the right to create their own state.

The GDR aligns itself in the worldwide solidarity front with the Latin American peoples in their just and unselfish struggle against dictatorial regimes. As always, our particular support goes to the struggling people of Chile. In the South of Africa we declare our solidarity with the people of Namibia which has risen to overthrow the last bastion of colonialism on the African continent, and with the struggle of the South African people which is still being denied its rights to freedom and independence by the apartheid regime.

#### A Thoroughly Real Task

The relations of the socialist states with a majority of Third World countries are increasingly developing on the basis of solid and stable treaties. In the last 10 years, the GDR has concluded 141 government-level agreements with 59 emerging nations. Since 1970, the GDR's foreign trade with emerging nations has tripled; in 1979, it was 9,591 valuta marks (see also the article by Siegfried Buetner: "DDR Hilfe fuer Entwicklungslander" [GDR Assistance for Developing Countries] in: EINHEIT, No 10 1980, p 1081 f.).

Socialist states are orienting themselves toward and concentrating on those liberated countries in Asia and Africa that have chosen the path of socialist development. The number of these countries is still small, but they are closely allied with the socialist states and have adopted solidly anti-imperialistic positions. They form the vanguard of the national liberation movement because they are following a path of social and political development which is in complete harmony with the character of our time. Fundamental social changes characterize previous development in these

countries, which are exposed to particularly heavy pressure from imperialistic circles. Fraternal cooperation unites the SED with revolutionary advance parties.

The visits of party and state delegations, led by Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee secretary general and chairman of the National Council, to Arabic and African countries are still fresh in our memories. Treaties of friendship and cooperation between the GDR and the People's Republic of Angola, the People's Republic of Mozambique, Socialist Ethiopia and the Democratic People's Republic of Yemen were among the fruits of these visits. The GDR's attitude in principle to cooperation with the emerging nations against imperialism, outlined by Erich Honecker in the Central Committee's report to the Ninth SED Congress, has met with approval on many sides. In it he stressed the basic connection between the international balance of power, which is continuing to change in favor of socialism, and the increased possibilities for solving these nations' problems: "By expanding and consolidating political and economic relations, we are supporting the struggle of the liberated countries, and those that are fighting for liberation, for economic independence and contributing to the solution of the political, economic and social tasks facing them. We believe it is necessary to overcome the international division of labor, which was created by imperialism and which serves neocolonialist exploitation, and to create fair international economic relations. This task is a thoroughly real one in view of the current international balance of power."

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## BACKGROUND OF POLICEMEN'S MURDER TRIAL TRACED

### Scene in Priboj

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian, No 1556, 26 Oct 80 pp 18-19

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "A Hundred Days Later"]

[Text] In Priboj Na Limu these days, the question for the new SUP [Police] chief is: "Since Andija Toskic died, how many times have the Priboj police used their sticks?"

The answer is: "One solitary time. A veteran policeman was restoring order in a barroom. There were four troublemakers. One grabbed him by the lapel. The policeman used his stick. He told me: I had to, comrade chief. It wasn't all the same to him anyway. We estimated that he used the club in conformity with regulations."

It means that it is possible to "restore order" without daily use of the club. The Priboj police are getting used to the new style. The new SUP chief, Vejsil Hodzic, 46, assumed the post on 1 September. Before that, he had been the president of the Opstina Trade Union Council. A document of the trade union branch of the police, issued before the tragic event in the station by the Opstina Trade Union Council, hangs on the wall of his new office. It was signed by Vejsil Hodzic.

Who knows whether this bizarre detail had something to do with the fact that this distinguished socio-political worker was to be appointed to the position of SUP chief at a most difficult time.

### The Barroom Life

It has never been easy for policemen in Priboj. Now, it is tougher than ever before. Now, when three of their former colleagues are answering for the murder of Alija Toskic before the Titovo Uzice Okrug Court. Polls taken on the street and in the bars disclose the observation of Priboj residents that assaults are increasing in frequency. Barroom furnishings are being broken. When Zorica Bruncik was visiting, a boy drove a bicycle in and began to drive between tables. It was not frightening, but provocative. One evening, in the FAP [Priboj Automotive Factory] restaurant, another one took his pants and undershorts off before a more mature couple, and told the woman, while pointing to "that thing of his": "You've had enough of the meatballs, now come on and try out some Karadjordjevic cutlet."

Zeljko Strojil, age 26, an automotive electrician at the PAP, says "Criminals have to be punished, or else you cannot go into a barroom now." He is exaggerating. He is expressing his observation for NIN right in a barroom. This is the "New Self-Service" restaurant, in which the incident between Ded Koldzic and Bahrudin Mehovic broke out. This incident led Alija Toskic to the police station as a witness, but he did not leave that place alive. No one was going through the food service line, but 20 people were sitting at the tables and drinking, mostly wine and beer. During the same evenings, in the restaurant of the Hotel "Priboj," a singer in a black floor-length gown, with a dark cap on her head and a veil across her face sings her repertoire without interruption. No one requested the song: "You are here no longer, Alija," which had been a real obsession in Priboj bars for days and days after July 12, when Alija died.

Chief Hodzic admits to the possibility that currently, the police are "easing up" a little on moving in on such places. He repeats their statements that they experienced getting whistled and shouted at. The people who had tangled with the police before are the ones who are the loudest. One hopes, that we too are citizens, says the policemen. You cannot cast scorn on the entire service because of one individual. Thus, Hodzic considers that the basic problem lies in the fact that currently, there are few personnel in the Priboj police. Because of the fatal incident, 13 policemen have been removed, not counting the 3 defendants. There are 25 remaining. That is not enough.

Policemen in Priboj were called up because of singing in the bars. Nasty tongues now are saying that when the police are called by telephone to move in, the response given is "are there any dead?" And if there are no dead (usually there are none), they add--settle it yourselves. The nasty tongues have to be taken with a grain of salt. "To help out," Priboj has gotten five policemen from Titovo Uzice, and careful readers of the newspapers could notice an advertisement for new people for the Priboj police.

#### Workers Opinion

These new ones would have to be different than those removed. Izet Toskic, Secretary of the opstina committee of the League of Communists, also, a relative of the late Alija Toskic, states that after 9 July, 30 people complained about the earlier behavior of individual policemen and inspectors. "When I asked one mother why she waited till now to complain that the police broke her son's arm, she answered 'eh, my secretary, something even worse could have happened to him.'"

All of these complaints have been turned over to the commission which is studying the previous state of affairs in the Priboj SUP, and the behavior of individuals. By the question as to why the League of Communists, why the social organizations did not intervene against the brutality and abuse by individual workers of the SUP, secretary Toskic says: "We had no idea of how bad it was." He states that the majority of the Priboj policemen are normal and honorable people. Now they had been subjected to street pressure, and even to insults. But this has ceased, because we explained things to the people at meetings of the Socialist Alliance and the youth association.

Secretary Toskic says that the workers' way of thinking prevails in this city. People distinguish between what is necessary and what is not. This helped us to avoid even worse things during the days after Alija's death.

Sulejman Civgin, 34, team leader of the universal shaft department of the FAP, father of three children, thinks that the honest information on the incident at the police station did a lot to calm down emotions. People said: "They deserve all kinds of credit for bringing this out in the open." About Alija's funeral, he says: "They put him under glass. The black and blue marks showed up on his face. When my mother died, I did not cry. I had to be strong because of my young brother. However, at Alija's funeral--I cried. Everybody cried. I do not know how many people were there, maybe 5,000, maybe 10,000. No incident of any kind occurred."

The day of the funeral, no policemen were seen on the street. Mostly young people were maintaining order and did maintain it. At that time, the three culprits directly responsible for Alija's death had already been in jail for some time. But a goodly number of others were shaking in their boots because of previous abuses. Their transgressions of various types were attached to a report marked "strictly confidential." The indiscretions which extended to the downtown district mention taking residence by force in publically owned housing, the possession of automobiles with foreign registrations to evade tax, maltreatment of citizens, arrogant behavior in private barrooms in the style of: patrons, get outside, and you, waitress, come into the room with me... One waiter told how Ljubisa Vukovic, a policeman who has been arraigned before the Titovo Uzice Okrug Court for the death of Toskic, one time before had beat up a waiter in the station restaurant. He told him not to serve drinks to drunken guests. The waiter responded that there were no drunks. He received a kick in the face and a clubbing from behind the bar also. Who knows what was in the police station where he was brought. There was no trial.

After Alija's death, one member of the Opština Committee of the League of Communists stated at a meeting how he was maltreated when he was returning drunk from a party celebrating the birth of his first-born son. The policeman checked his papers, even though he knew him, and then he threw his passport on the sidewalk.

#### Youth in Ferment

It is not easy for policemen in Priboj, nor, as it appears, was it easy for the citizenry with individual policemen. Priboj is one of the "cities in flux" (Bulajic's film) from Yugoslavia's industrialization. It had been a small town of about 1,000 inhabitants, and only around 100 employed. Currently, it has 20,000 inhabitants. FAP alone employs more than 1,500 persons. Unfortunately, there are also 3,000 persons "looking for employment."

Runned in by hills, the town extended itself several kilometers along both sides of the Lim River. The new section of Priboj, located upstream, a modern city on the left bank, boasts of high rise apartment buildings, wide streets, a stadium, and playing fields for minor sports. All that is needed is to finish up the cultural center. Old Priboj nestles against beyond the railroad and bus station, and here, practically everything was built after the war. Both parts have one solitary movie theater. They are connected by the FAP on the right bank, and by the settlement of Chitluk on the left. These are the houses of workers from the village, who decided to get closer to the factory. The houses are placed one after the other. There is little room, everything is crowded up. There are practically no streets, and it is hard to see how anyone could get through.

During the first period, when it began its rapid growth, the city had no time for urbanistics. Currently--what's here is here. On Sunday's, when there is no game

going on, Lotto is the main attraction. There were perhaps 200 people at about Noon in the FAP restaurant, 200 pairs of eyes watching avidly, in the expectation that lady luck would smile on them.

Priboj has few parks, it has fields for minor sports, it has a Serbian Soccer League club, a second-string league fieldball team, and women volley ball players in the best selection of Yugoslav clubs. It has exhibits, it has guest performances. It even has money. Not a single work organization operates at a loss. Nevertheless, since the barrooms are the main locales of social affirmation of the majority of young people, here is where the overwhelming number of incidents take place that are recorded in police statistics as disturbing public order and peace. During the 100 days after the death of Alija, the municipal magistrate handed down 34 sentences. None of the defendants had less than two sentences prior to the current one.

On a measured scale of values, which has lost the patriarchal simplicity of the village, and has not yet absorbed and implanted the complicated urban standards, you gain points by thinking up rowdy stunts. Many points are gained by being tough with the police, if there are no policemen around, and being tough with citizens if they are around. Young people in ferment, who believe in force, belong to the city in flux--both the young people in uniforms and those who clash with them. Among those brought by policemen Ljubisa Vukovic to the [Police] Station on 9 July, only one was 40 years old: Dedo Kolfic. And only 40-year old duty officer Vladimir Spajic backed off from something, which, turned a clubbing into drunkenness. Vukovic, Vranic, and Raketic (ages 24, 21, and 26), all strong, healthy, well-fed young fellows of pleasant appearance--they kept on going--who, how much, and how long, the court has to determine that--and when they stopped, all was ended with their contemporary, Alija.

Alija was in a state of "mild intoxication," as was evaluated by an expert when the blood of his dead body was analyzed. Alcohol is the main social illness of Priboj na Limu, as is the case in other small industrial towns that have grown up during the course of a single generation. In the Center for Social Work, 326 treated alcoholics have been registered. The treatment costs 15,000 dinars [new dinars] per month, and lasts 3 months on an average. This is an expensive disease! Alcohol is the main cause of marital conflicts and divorce, says Tatomir Kojadinovic, professor, defectologist [specialist for mentally and physically defective persons], who is the director of the center. In the past year, in Priboj, there were 33 divorces and there were cases of conflicts in 156 families with a total of 301 children, where the center tried to help out. Young people are quick to decide to get married, and even quicker to get divorced, says Kojadinovic. Alcohol aggravates minor day-to-day husband-and-wife conflicts, which they would probably otherwise settle by themselves.

#### The Laws and Life

Alija had been a client of the center. Kojadinovic speaks about him warmly. He was proud, he was proud and sincere. "He was not a crook or a criminal, even though the police initiated a dossier about him. I knew him for years," he said. He was born in Gusinje, in Montenegro. His father was killed by a blasting charge at a construction site somewhere, when Alija was 4 months old, and his mother remarried. Alija had told a friend, Bahrudin Mehovic, on the day that he lost his life, how he had recently refused contact with his mother, and rejected a gift.

He had been raised by his grandmother in Niksic. Later on, he moved to Priboj, to his uncle Zecir, who an employee of FAP. Tensions arose during his years of puberty. "He told us: I can no longer stay with Zecir," says Kojadinovic. "We found him a place to live with the family of Jusuf Skorupan, who treated Alija like his own child. Alija never complained about him, and he never complained about Alija."

He repeated the third grade. He went off into the Army. When he returned, last autumn, he passed all tests, and the following spring, he completed his diploma work. Shortly before his death, the center director obtained a firm promise at FAP that they would employ Alija.

He was getting his fathers pension of 2,300 dinars monthly. "He had modest needs," says Kojadinovic, the checkered shirt in which he lost his life was the only one he had."

The law and the courts do not always measure up to life. The law has several hundreds of paragraphs, and life has a plethora of non-recurring situations. The three young policemen, who whose deportment in the courtroom was restrained and calm, are being judged for murder, and the evidence has to determine the nature of this murder and the punishment. They are not being judged for maltreatment, which is obvious, irrefutable, and carries great social weight according to everything that it uncovers. In this, there is legal logic, according to which, the more serious criminal case "consumes" the one of lesser gravity...

But, information on the trial will appear in a coming issue.

#### Initial Impressions From the Courtroom

Belgrade NEDELJNE INFORMATIVNE NOVINE in Serbo-Croatian No 1557, 2 Nov 80 pp 22-23

[Article by Zvonko Simic: "Witness Alija Toskic"]

[Text] Nearly 4 months have passed since the tragic incident in Priboj na Limu, when Alija Toskic lost his life in the police station. The days of investigation have passed, as have 3 "court days." It is known that Alija died when he was beat up by the police. But it is still not completely clear how this happened.

In the first statements, 40 hours after the incident, the police defendants, Ljubisa Vukovic and Dragoslav Vranic described the moment of Alija's death almost in the same way. Here is Vranic's description: "...Then Toskic swung his head back two more times, and hit right down on the metal cabinet and immediately fell alongside the cabinet..."

How reminiscent this is of the well known "drinking story" about how Mujo slipped, fell on Naso's gaff, "and did so five or six times," nothing can be held against him. The version that Vukovic and Vranic gave does not tell the entire truth, in reality. It does not even come close to half the truth. After all, the defendant is the only person not bound by the law to tell the whole truth and nothing but the truth before the court.

Defendant Raketic and two other witnesses in police uniforms said that Toskic just plain fell down. For reasons unknown. Vladimir Spajic, the duty officer at the police station on 9 July, about whom it is said in more than one statement that he himself hit Alija Toskic at first, and later tried to stop the brutality--is one of the two.

He was suspended (in that larger group of workers of the Priboj SUP who were hit with disciplinary and other consequences of the incident) mainly because he did not prevent the clubbing, and as duty officer, he could have and was obligated to do that. Alija's uncle Zecir Toskic, who is seated in the courtroom next to the public prosecutor and is the representative of the bereaved family, announced that he will try to increase the number of defendants to include Vladimir Spajic also. If the public prosecutor does not accept this, Toskic may lodge a private complaint.

Of the three "civilians" who were in Room No. 10 during the critical time, two have testified that they saw how Alija fell because he was hit on the back from the right side to the neck--according to one witness, or when he was hit on the neck or on the shoulder, the other witness stated. Both saw the stick in the hands of Lubisa Vukovic. One of the two, Hajrudin Hajdarevic, described the moments that followed thusly: "Toskic did not give a sign of life. He was foaming at the mouth when they doused him with water, and immediately after that, he darkened in color, and said not a thing. Seeing that Toskic was not giving any signs of life, Ljubisa turned to me... giving me my passport: 'Fuck your mother, get the hell home, if I find you on the street anytime, I'll knock the shit outta you!'"

A layman would expect that it would be easy to determine the main circumstances of Alija's sufferings which took place before an audience of eight witnesses. However, the evidence is conflicting and obscures the image more than it clears it up. Part of the differences can be attributed to the interest of the defendants to protect themselves, or the professional solidarity of their colleagues, who could see better those things that would be less incriminating against their friends, and were not able to see the more incriminating things as well, and to the ire of the witnesses from Alija's group, who themselves got clubbed in "Room No. 10". Another part of the difference derives from the limited capacities of human memory. It does not have the sensitivity and duration of a film strip, and has no "slow motion" and "rerun capacity," and each time, it reproduces an increasingly faded version. It is unable to stop time at a critical point and to repeatedly and slowly see if the person fell immediately after the blow, and after which blow, and who hit him, and where was which one of the defendants at the time, and if Alija fell on the right or left side or on the back, or if he hit the cabinet when he fell, or if he fell alongside it.

Even when they are more sincere the witness statements are good material for chaos, to say nothing about when they are not sincere. The testimony of the ninth person, Alija Toskic, remains the most incontestable about the chaos in "Room No. 10." This is the evidence of his dead body.

Two parallel strands of black and blue on the right side of the bare back remained on the photographs after death. They are some 20 centimeters long apiece, and two centimeters wide. Even a child could guess how they came about. It was written in a euphemistically artificial way that they were inflicted by "a sausage-shaped object." These blows probably fell when Alija was already lying unconscious on the floor and the three young persons (or perhaps, there were four of them), because their fear of an irreversible consequence was rapidly increasing, were lending themselves encouragement more than anything else, when they cried out, "maybe, he is pretending," or something similar to that.

Many other traces of blows on his thighs, on his face, on his chest, on his knee stood as witness. The experts designated all of them as minor bodily injuries, except for the blow (or blows) on the neck. The pathologist who conducted the autopsy

concluded that death ensued directly as a result of the cessation of heart functioning. "The stoppage of the function of the heart took place as a result of reflex stimulation and damage to the so-called sympathetic carotid ganglion, which is located in the area of the neck blood vessels."

#### Medical Factors

Forensic medical experts, professors Er. Dobrivoje Jokanovic, and Dr. Srecko Pandurovic, who gave their opinion on the basis of the autopsy report, were much more restrained. They accept the fact that "only the injuries in the back area were severe and dangerous to life," but do not exclude the reflex stoppage of the function of the heart nor "the severe disturbance of the respiratory function," choking, and state of shock.

Speaking for NIN, during these days, the two professors stated that they need new facts in order to be able to conclude with certainty the other probable causes of death. Pathophysiological findings must soon be at their disposal, and also Alija's medical records, from which it would be possible to see whether Alija was suffering from any kind of disease, and whether it is possible that some earlier health defect might have made it so that any blow would become fatal.

The first mistake was made when the work of experts for forensic medicine was conducted by the nearest available pathologist. It would have been better, with respect to the nature, the location, and the results of the tragic occurrence for a highly authoritative commission of forensic medicine experts to have been called immediately for the purpose of conducting the autopsy. Then, the evidence of Alija's dead body would have been more complete, more precise, more all-encompassing, and the work of the court would be easier than it is today. In similar cases, when the available medical factors for determining the cause of death are insufficient, it is sometimes necessary to resort to exhumation. It remains to be seen whether this will be necessary in this case also.

The current course of the court process indicates the possibility that Alija lost his life from one blow in the back with a stick. The more the medical expertise confirms this assumption, and the more the SUP believes the testimony of Mehovic and Hajdarevic on the stick in one hand, the guilt of the three defendants could be differentiated. It is collective, but it must not be equal.

All three struck Alija Toskic brutally, but if only one of those blows was fatal, and if it is possible to determine who dealt that blow, then his guilt would be of particular gravity.

If the three defendants had intent to kill Alija Toskic, they would not have brought him into the police station, where the incident was carried out before half-a-dozen witnesses. When the incident took place in the police station, obviously they wanted to rough him up, set him down a peg, and perhaps arrest him. However, there is no equal sign standing between intent in everyday life and intent in criminal law. What happened in actuality began as maltreatment and ended up something that could be described as death of a victim through the unscrupulous violent behavior of the defendants. For maltreatment in the capacity of a public servant, the law provides for a punishment of from 3 months to 3 years imprisonment, and for murder through the unscrupulous violent behavior, from 10 years imprisonment minimum, to punishment by death. The public prosecutor took a middle course. He indicted the three young

fellows for manslaughter with so-called probable intent; he is not prosecuting them, therefore, because they had intent to kill, but because they could have known and had to have known that the clubbing that they subjected Alija Toskic to could have a fatal outcome, and that they "had aforethought of the consequences" as it is stated in legal languages. The prosecutor can change the indictment to a "higher" or "lower" level. For the time being, it does not look as though he will do that.

#### Common Points

This time, the courtroom is not the site of an especially bitter fight between prosecution and defense, such as takes place at criminal trials. In the corridors, somebody is saying that the prosecution is going for "a reasonable judgement," and that the defense is not hindering it in this. As for the accused, it cannot be said that they are putting up a joint defense, however, for the time being, they are not charging one another in order to push off the guilt onto someone else, as happens quite often at such trials. Their defenses have different shades about them, but they have sufficient common points. Each asserts that at some moment of the tragic incident, he left the room (the longer, the better) and each continues to assure the court how he was absent right at the moment when Alija suffered the fatal injury. If the court believed them in this respect, it would turn out that none of the three was in Room No. 10 at the time that Alija lost his life.

The defendants say before the court that when he received the first blows, Alija tried to escape through a window, and this is used as a justification for the use of force: they stopped him from escaping, allegedly. The "civilian" witnesses refute this story, and even during the investigation, this motive did not turn up. Its value therefore is quite limited. Alija was not brought in as an offender, who had to be held by force when he wanted to leave.

The public prosecutor proposed, and the defense wholeheartedly accepted that in the presentation of evidence Alija's court dossier will be brought up. What it contains will be seen when the trial continues, and what the defense wants to extract from this is obvious even now. If it can be demonstrated that Alija was a known offender in Priboj (which some people that NIN spoke to in the city on the Lim contradicted) the clubbing of Alija would not be pardonable, of course, but perhaps it would be more understandable, and the image that defendants are leaving of themselves in this entire thing would be not quite as black.

Whatever Alija Toskic did earlier in Priboj, on 9 July, when he lost his life, he was a peaceful as a pintail. In the barroom, he did not partake in the incident of note, rather, he tried to calm it down, and in the Station, he evoked the rage of policemen Vukovic because he held his hands on his shoulders, and when the latter told him to put his hands down, he answered: "What are you doing ordering me around, and why are you keeping me here at all, I am guilty of nothing" and that was enough for them to attack him.

Although Alija lost his life accidentally, as it appears from everything, he was brutalized persistantly and long, and was struck without law and reason. Whatever this may have been from a criminal law standpoint, from the standpoint of ordinary people and of society as a whole, this is where the burden of the tragic Priboj incident lies. The main message from the Titovo Uzice trial does not say "Don't hit people illegally because a misfortune can occur." It says: "Do not use force outside the law, for this is forbidden, because the purpose of your service here is to

protect citizens, keep the peace, watch for their security and the security of their institutions, their communities, and the order and system in which they live." It is service of society and nothing more, nothing less. And individuals who violate this basic principle are not fit for work in this service.

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